

# VOTIVA TABULA;

OR,

*NA*  
A Solemn Thanksgiving offered up to God  
the mighty Protector of Kings, for the wonderful  
Protection, and happy Restauration of our  
GRACIOUS SOVERAIGN

## CHARLS the II.

Unto the Exercise of his just Right and Authority of  
Governing His Three KINGDOMS of  
ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, & IRELAND.

Thereby delivering these *Three Nations* from a miserable *Slavery*,  
and restoring them to their ancient *Liberty, Peace and Glory.*

DELIVERED IN

## Two SERMONS

Preached on the Two dayes of *Publick Thanksgiving* appointed  
to Praise God for their Wonderful and gracious Mercies.

One on *May 24.* the other on *June 28. 1660.*

Since that Revised, contrived into One, and a little Enlarged.

By *JAMES WARWELL* Rector of *Boxford* in *Suffolk.*

K LONDON: ⊕

Printed for *R. Royston* at the *Angel* in *Ivy-lane.* 1660. *P*

VOTIVA TABULA

OK

A solemn Thanksgiving offered up to God  
the mighty Protector of Kings, for the wonderful  
Protection, and happy Reformation of our  
NATION

CHARLES the II.

Into the hands of his just Right and Authority of  
his Majesty the King

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, WALES,  
THEIR DELIVERANCE FROM A MISERABLE SLAVERY  
and their return to the Christian Religion, Peace and Unity  
DELIVERED IN

TWO SERMONS

Preach'd on the Twenty-seventh of October 1660. the first by  
the Reverend Father in God, William Laud, Bishop of London.

One on May 24 the other on June 23. 1660.

Since that Reviled, condemned One and his Church

BY JAMES HARRISON, Master of Arts in St. John's

LONDON:

Printed for A. Keston at the Angel in Fish-street. 1660.



TO HIS  
SACRED MAJESTY,  
Charles the II.

By the wonderfull providence of God  
happily preserved, and by his Grace  
now as happily settled

K I N G

OF

Great-Britain, France and Ireland.

*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

**I**T was the order of God under the Law, that the person for whom the Priest offered, should lay his hand upon the head of the sacrifice. This sacrifice of thanksgiving was offered principally for your Majesty, and next for all your people in these three Nations, who have a very deep share in all those wonderful mercies which God hath done for your Majesty, and in your Majesty for them: your Majesty could not lay your hand upon it before the oblation, nor do I now beg it for I hope it is in the hand of God accepting it. But if your Majesty shall be pleased to lay the hand of

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

your Gracious acceptance upon it, as it is now dedicated (next to Gods glory) to the service of your Majesty amongst your people, it may by the blessing of God find the better acceptance and do more good.

I know not how to apologize for so great a presumption as the inscribing of your Majesties Name before so thin and sleight a peice, but by charging the guilt of it upon a great obligation which I was under to your Royal Father of blessed memory, and some remote relation to his service, which inticed me hereunto, under the fair shew and suggestion of gratitude. This excuse is the only one which I could frame for my presumption: but your Majestie reflecting upon your self may find another, and a better, your own incomparable clemency and graciousnesse. Your Majesties extraordinary readinesse to pardon crimes of the highest nature to your enemies, might easily tempte your poor Subject, whose heart hath never in the worst times declined from his Loyalty, to such an adventure with great hopes of pardon. As he hath then alwaies prayed for your Majesties happy restauration in secretes, so now (God be blessed for this happy liberty restored with and by your Majesty) he shall continue openly as well as privately to pray for your Majesties long, happy, and glorious raigne over us, as being

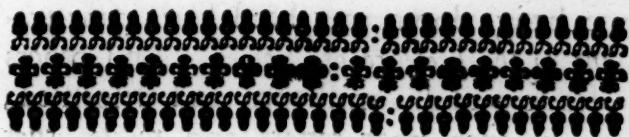
Your Majesties

Sincerely Loyal

and obedient Subject,

James Warwell.

TO



TO THE  
READER.

READER,

**T**O excuse my vanity for hazarding  
to thy view and censure so thin and  
fleight a peice, were to commit another  
vanity. I might ( thou wilt say ) have  
forborn the doing it, and the excuse both.  
This is only to tell thee an honest and  
plain truth. My pulse did not beat this  
way out of any ambition to appear in  
print. I see amongst those whom the  
presse hath tyred to send forth upon the  
Stage some so learned and every waies  
accomplished, that I should be ashamed  
of my immodesty and indiscretion to in-  
trude amongst that Company, lest their

## To the Reader.

lustre should so cloude mee, as to make me hang down my head like a poor peasant in the presence of Nobles. And others I see so pitifully mishapen and deformed, and in such poor tatters and raggs, that I should be ashamed to stand amongst them as my acquaintance. Betwixt both, what great honour or contentment can it be to any man, that hath never so small a stock of reason, to lye upon a Stationers stall, like a peice of course flesh in the shambles, to be flye-blown with the discourses of illiterate, superstitious and ingenuous men, which swarm every where: I have observed that men who will be trading with too weak stocks, rather loose then gain, and I shall run an hazard rather to loose somewhat of my poor stock of reputation, then hope to encrease it. If excesse of joy (which is due to these times of our restored blisse) hath transported me into a vanity, which no temptation heretofore could draw me to, I desire thy pardon and excuse for once. Thou mayest (upon the like temptation) run

run into the like at another time, and it  
is an hundred to one, if at some time or  
other thou beest not overtaken with such  
a Vanity, or another as great, wherein  
thou shalt find him as ready to grant  
pardon to thee, as he now craves it of  
thee.

Thine Ingenious Friend,

Thine Ingenious Friend,

Ja. Warwell.

ERATA

Psalm

**Pfal. 118. 27.**

**God is the Lord who hath shewed us light:  
bind the sacrifice with cords even unto the  
horns of the Altar.**

**Saint Augustine, Epist. 77.**

*Quid melius et animo geramus, & ore proma-  
mus, et calamo exprimamus, quam Deo gra-  
tias? Hoc nec dici brevius, nec audire latius,  
nec intelligi grandius, nec agi fructuosius  
potest.*

## **ERRATA.**

**P** Ag. 13. l. 6. r. grows, l. 9. for doth see, r. doth not see, pag. 17.  
l. ult. r. against which heaven, p. 25. l. 2. r. remains, p. 36. l. 10. r.  
Spirit.  
169





## VOTIVA TABULA.

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PSALM 126. 1, 2.

*When the Lord turned again the Captivity of  
Zion, we were like them that dream.*

*Then was our mouth filled with laughter, and  
our tongue with singing, then said they among  
the Heathen, The Lord hath done great  
things for them.*

**T**His Psalm runs in a very joyful triumphant strain, like an *improviser*, celebrating highly the praises of God, for a wonderful mercy shewed to his People of *Israel*, in bringing them back from their miserable *Babylonish* captivity. These words of it do so fitly express that great work of mercy which God hath now wrought for this Nation, and are so suitable to that occasion for which we are assembled, this day to

B

offer

Rom. 15. 4.

Adoro Scriptu-  
rae plenitudi-  
nem. Tertul-  
lio. cont. Her-  
mog.

offer up unto our most gracious God a Sacrifice of solemn Thanksgiving, as if they had been penned for our very purpose. And what if I should think, or say, they were so? *For all things that were written aforetime* (saith St. Paul) *were written for our learning*, and as for our learning, so for our purposes. This makes me (as one thing among many other) to adore (with *Tertullian*) the complete fullness of the Scriptures: that there is no occasion, for which it may befall Christians to meet together in a solemn holy Assembly, be it either for Prayer, or Praise, for Humiliation, or Exultation, to receive Instructions, Directions, or Encouragement, to any Duty general or particular, or Comforts and Consolations in any case whatsoever, but the Scriptures afford divers Texts as suitable to the occasion, as if they had been purposely framed for it.

If I shall spend very little time in the particular setting forth of this wonderful work of mercy, which God then wrought for his people of *Israel*; it is that I may reserve it to spend more freely about setting forth that which he hath now of his own meer grace and favour wrought for us, a very sinful and undeserving Nation.

These two Verses are like two Monumental Pillars, reared up to preserve the memorial of a wonderful work of mercy wrought by God for his People unto all generations.

In the first, is engraven the hand of Almighty God, reached down from Heaven, and taking hold of his people, to lead them out of their Captivity, as the Angel once took hold of *Lot's* hand to lead

lead him out of the destruction of *Sodom*.

In the other is represented the great blazes of his peoples joy, and the plentiful Incense of praise which ascended up from them towards Heaven: or, to speak a little more plainly, we have in them these two general things to be considered.

1. The great mercy which God wrought for his people. He turned again the captivity of his people so wonderfully and unexpectedly, that in an amazement, they thought it rather a dream, than a thing real. *When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream.*

2. The Effects of this great mercy, what it wrought, and how.

1. His people were affected with it, who received the benefit of it.

2. How the Heathen were affected, who were strangers and no sharers in it.

As for his people, they were affected with joy, which is considerable (as it is here set forth) both for the measure of it, and the kinds of it.

1. For the measure of it, it was very great and extraordinary: Their hearts and mouths, and tongues were all brim-ful. *Our mouths were [filled] with laughter, and our tongues, &c.*

2. As for their kinds of joy, it is here expressed to have been two-fold, *viz.*

1. A Natural joy or rejoicing. *Our mouth was filled with [laughter.]* Risibility is the natural property of the reasonable creature, man, and laughter is the natural expression of some great sudden pleasure and joy. The joy of laughter cannot in

reason have any better name, then Natural : yet I think that a fitter term of expression, then to call it [Carnal] which is a word of ill sound. Natural joy may be construed as a lawful joy without sin : but so can we not well think of a joy that were called Carnal. As our reason may tell us, that this kind of joy of laughter was no better then natural or common joy, so our charity may restrain us, (seeing this is written of the people of God, one as well as another) from calling it Carnal : And yet it would have deserved no better Name, if there had not been another kind of better joy joyned with it, and set in it as a rich Diamond in a Gold Ring. But,

2. Here is another kind of joy expressed to have been in them, more rational, Spiritual and Religious [*Our tongue was filled with singing.*] Though the mouth of fools may be filled with laughter, yet to set forth joy in a Song, requires some height of reason : and to frame Songs of praise and thanksgiving unto God (as we must conceive was done in this case) or to joyn in such Songs of Praise (though composed by others) with an heart and tongue fit to sing them, this requires religious devotion. Who can compose a Song fit for the solemn praising of God, without some serious and deep meditation ? Yea, to raise it up to a fitting strain, it requires a more then ordinary elevation of spirit, a kind of divine rapture. Nor when it is composed by one, can it be sung by others tuneably before God, unless the heart keeps tune as well as the voyce : This phrase therefore [*Our tongue*

*was filled with singing* ] doth plainly imply a religious and spiritual rejoycing, without which the other had been but a cypher. But whosoever sings according to St. Pauls rule, *I will sing with the spirit, I will sing with the understanding also*, his joy must needs be rational and religious: And it may be worth our noting here, that the religious and spiritual rejoycing of Gods people in this Mercy, was as high as their natural: *their tongues were [filled] with singing*, as well as their *mouths with laughter*: This rarely falls out amongst men, yet it should be thus alwayes. The fat of all sacrifices was to be offered upon the Altar; but men commonly feed upon the fat of their joyes themselves, and offer but a leaner part, if any at all, to God.

Thus were the people of God affected with this great mercy, but how the heathen?

2. The Heathen were all filled with a great admiration of it. We may consider them either as strangers, or enemies to the people of God: all were strangers, and some without doubt enemies. We do not finde here, that *their mouths were filled with laughter, or their tongues with singing*: they had not learned St. Pauls rule, to *rejoyce with them that rejoyce*: Some (more probably) envyed the people of God this happiness, as *Sanballat* and *Tobiah* envyed the repairing of the Temple: some perhaps were sorry and troubled at it, they might lose the advantage of some slaves, as the Masters of the *Pythonist* were incensed at her dispossession by Paul: others of better natures might be in-

Rom. 12. 15.

Nehem. 6.

Acts 16. 19.

differently well pleased, but not much joyed ; but generally they were all affected with great admiration and wonder, to acknowledge it the mighty hand of God : *Then said they among the Heathen, The Lord hath done great, &c.*

Thus have ye a view of the generall things contained in these words : if ye desire further a bill of the particulars, I will give it you thus.

1. God in his displeasure doth give up his own people, his dear *Zion* into Captivity, being highly and long provoked with their hainous sins. Here is *Zions Captivity*.

2. God neverthelesse in his wrath, remembring mercy, doth in his appointed time turn again her captivity. Here is *a turning again of the Captivity of Zion*.

3. He himself works this return so with his own arm, that all men might see it to be his doing. [*The Lord* ] *turned again the Captivity of Zion*.

4. He doth it in a way so wonderful, suddenly, unexpectedly, or by unlikely means, that it seemed to his people a kinde of dream. *We were like them that dream*.

5. This caused the hearts of his people to overflow with joy, both natural or common, and spiritual or religious. *Our mouths were filled with [laughter] and our tongues with [singing].*

6. Though their common and natural joy were first in order, ( as in reason it could not be otherwise ) *That is not first* (saith the Apostle) *which is spiritual, but that which is natural, then afterwards that*



*that which is spiritual*; yet their spiritual did answer it, and equal it in measure. Their *tongues were* [filled] *with singing*, as well as their *mouth with* [laughter.]

7. This wonderfull work of mercy was so conspicuous and glorious, that the eyes of strangers, even the Heathen, took notice of the special favour of God therein manifested to his people, and said, *The Lord had done great things for them.*

From these particulars, I shall gather my Observations this day, and make application of them to our selves, for our Instruction, Direction and Comfort.

And first I observe,

*There is no people so dear in the eyes of God, or grafted so deeply into his special favour, but if they go on to provoke the eyes of his glory, they may and must expect to be corrected with some sharp rod.*

Obser. I.

Thus it befell his dear beloved people the *Jews*. For is not Captivity a very sharp rod? Truly, if there be no other twigs bound up in Gods rod, but such as grow on earth, if some spiritual judgements be not mingled and bound up with his temporal, there can scarce any rod be conceived sharper. What a sinking misery is it for a poor Nation to be enslaved, under rude, barbarous and insolent enemies, who both hate and despise them, and have power in their hands to do to them what--

Deut. 32. 15.

Isa. 1. 3.

Psal. 106. 41.

whatsoever their cruel hatred and despite shall incline them to? Yet this was the lot of the *Jews*, Gods peculiar people, and special favourites; and that not once, but often, a just punishment upon them: For when God fed them to the full, then *they waxed fat, then they kicked, and forsook God that made them, and lightly esteemed the rock of their salvation*: Yea they were become more brutish then the Ox or Ass, as God complaineth: *The Ox knoweth his Owner, and the Ass his Masters Crib, but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider*: They neither know, nor regard me at all. Who can wonder then at Gods severe treating them? *He gave them up therefore* (as the Psalmist tells us) *into the hands of the Heathen, and they that hated them ruled over them*. As *Antigonus* used the rude, foolish, insolent Citizens of a certain City, unto which he layed siege, who from their walls every day mocked him, and expressed their great scorn of him: Having at length won it, though out of his nobleness, he would not write his revenge in blood, yet he sold them all for Slaves, withall giving them this gentle taunt, *Seeing ye do not know how to govern your selves with better manners, ye have need of some other Masters to govern you*. So dealt God with his people, when they were grown so impiously insolent, as to mock his Prophets, to despise his Word, and to sleight his threatnings: When they began to cast off him, and would not own him for their Lord, to obey him in any thing: It is high time (thought God) to give up these men

men into the hands of other Masters, who shall make them to serve with rigour, as the *Egyptians* did their Fathers. *Like as they have forsaken me, and served strange Gods in their own Land, so they shall serve strangers in a Land that is not theirs.* Exod. i. 14.  
Jer. 5. 19.

Let us learn from hence this wisdom, that it is not safe for any Nation, whose sins are very great, and still encreasing, to presume too much, or too long upon the favour or patience of God, though his special love-tokens to them have been very great, and continued to them with visible demonstrations of extraordinary favour. We, I am sure, have found it not safe for us by miserable experience. It is too usual generally with all Nations to do as we have done, to undervalue the mercies of God, to grow wanton with them, and abuse them; and then it is just with God, and ordinary enough also, to punish the sleighting and abusing of his great mercies with some remarkable severity. What is it that we or any other sinfull people should presume upon? If it be of our federal relation to God, that makes our sins far worse, when it makes not us better. If it be because we do profess the true ancient Faith, and embrace the Reformed Religion; what is this, if we walk quite contrary to the principles and rules of it? We could never provoke God so highly, or dishonour true Religion so much, if we did not openly profess it. Such was once the vain folly and confidence of the *Jews*, saying, *Templum Domini*, Jer. 7. 4.  
*The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord,*

Pfal. 78. 60.

1 Sam. 4. 11.

*the Temple of the Lord are these.* It is likely the vain men were very confident, Because God had a fair and stately Temple in the midst of them, that therefore surely he would defend his own Temple, and not suffer his own House to be burnt, or beaten down over his head; and if that were kept safe, that their houses should fare well enough for neighbourhood sake: they had a strong persuasion, that those legs which had so often resorted to the House of God, and that perhaps with some shew of cheerfulness, should never come into shackles: Yea, but if his own people will make the House which is called by his Name, a Den of Robbers, it will less offend God to see it so abused and prophaned by the Heathen, as a man had rather be disgracefully affronted by any stranger, then by a Childe whom he hath begot, or a Servant whom he hath carefully brought up. We know, that God forsook his Tabernacle at *shiloh*, yea that he suffered his Ark (the most holy thing, that was in the most holy place, it was like Gods Bed-chamber, or bed in his House) he suffered that to be taken by the *Philistines*, and to be carryed (which was more strange) as a present to their Idol *Dagon*: but this he did out of his abhorrence of the Priests notorious wickedness, and to shame both theirs and the peoples vain confidence, in such a vain shelter against a storm of his indignation, raised by their high provoking sins. If then God delivered his own *Zion* into captivity, if he forsook his own Tabernacle, yea suffered his Ark to be taken by the uncircumcised *Philistines*,  
(which

(which was as if they had distrained his own bed from under him) whom can we think he will spare, or of what will he be tender, if once he be highly provoked? We have seen to the very breaking of our hearts, that which the weeping Prophet so bitterly lamenteth, *He hath despised in the indignation of his anger the King and the Priest:* yet without all doubt, he is tender of those degrees of men above all living: What else can be his meaning in his *Ne attingite? Touch not mine Anointed, and do my Prophets no harm.* Yea, but who may stand in his sight when once he is angry? Lam. 2. 6.  
Psal. 105. 15.  
Psal. 76 7.

Observ. 2. *That the anger of God against his people, though it be most just, and kindled very hot, yet doth not usually last very long.* Observ. 2.

Such is the infinite graciousness of God, that (as the Psalmist saith) *he will not alwayes chide, neither will he keep his anger for ever.* God had cause just enough, and too just against Israel, and in his anger had begun to smite them sore. *The sword shall abide in his Cities, and shall consume his branches, and devour them because of their own Counsels:* yet his tender heart quickly relenteth, as if it failed him to proceed further. *How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? how shall I deliver thee, Israel? how shall I make thee as Admah? how shall I set thee as Zeboim? Mine heart is turned within me, my repentings are kindled together.* If there be any repentings in his people, though Psal. 103 9.  
Hos. 11. 6.  
Ver. 8.

but like the smoaking flax, his repentings are kindled and blaze out: he makes it appear openly, how he repenteth of the evil inflicted upon his people, when it scarce appeareth, how his people repent of the evil which they have committed against him: yea (which is more strange) he repenteth, and stayes his hand, when their repentance is not really hearty, but forced and fained: That passage in the 78 Psalm may make us stand amazed at the infinite mercy of God, that he should be ready to take up and remove his rod from his people, when they did but humble themselves with a meer outward shew of repentance: *They sought him indeed, and returned, and enquired early after God. Nevertheless* (as the Psalmist tells us, v. 36.) *they did flatter him with their mouth, and lyed unto him with their tongues.* Yet mark what follows immediately. *But he being full of compassion* [ this is a strange *But* ] *forgave their iniquity, and destroyed them not.* Yet truly there are some reasons, why the infinitely gracious God is pleased to turn away his punishing wrath, even upon such formal repentings.

1. To demonstrate the infinite graciousness of his own nature, how ready he is to forgive, when so little a matter as an *Ahab's* humiliation will move him to stay his hand, and to suspend at least his judgements.

2. To shew, that he is better pleased with forms of outward humiliation, though proceeding more from a sence of his judgements, then of sin, the true cause of them, then with no humiliation at all, and

Psalm. 78. 34.  
35:36:37:38.



and that such a buckling under his rod doth less displease him, then an obstinate contempt and defiance of it.

3. Because the wicked insolence of those wretches, whom he is pleased to use as his scourges to lash his people, oftentimes grow so high and insufferable in his eyes, that it pleaseth God upon any the least occasion to bridle it, and put an end to it. Though he doth see so much true humiliation and repentance in his people, as their afflicted estate should have wrought in them, yet he cannot endure any longer to see the pride and insultation of their enemies over them. *I am very sore displeased* (saith God) *with the Heathen that are at ease: for I was but a little displeased [with my people] and they helped forward the affliction. Therefore thus saith the Lord, I am returned to Jerusalem with mercies, &c.* As a Father who hath given a rod into the hands of a slave to lash his child for his offences, yet if he sees him too cruel and insolent in lashing him, though he be not yet well pleased with his child, yet will snatch the rod out of his hand, and lay it on upon his back for his too much insolence. So doth God oftentimes turn away the rod of his displeasure from his people, being moved thereunto more by the extreme insolence and cruelty of their oppressors, then by the repentance and good use which his people have made of their afflictions. And thus it comes to pass, that his anger usually doth not continue in the height long towards his people. If their own true Repentance doth not wholly quench it, or  
Zech. i. 15, 16.

their forced Humiliation much abate it, yet the wicked insolence of those whom he useth as his rod, doth commonly in a little time rise to such an insufferable height, that he will no longer abide it.

*Applicat.*

This maketh very much for the support and comfort of the people of God in general, and of all or any of his holy servants in particular, in their afflicted conditions when they are lowest. Those who are not *filiis ira*, the children of wrath, yet may be, and often are, *filiis sub ira*, children under wrath, yet then they have this to comfort them, *That his anger endureth but a moment*: either their true and deep repentance may quite remove it, or their weaker measure of repentance may slake it, or the extreme insolence and cruelty of their oppressors (like a wind which carryeth the flames *per saltum*) may blow away the flames of Gods wrath from them, to leap and seize upon their Oppressors: Let them then wait upon God with patience, and there will come a turning again of the captivity of *Zion* in his good time. When their deliverance is furthest off from their eye, it may then be nearest at hand. Howsoever there is fewel sufficient for their Faith and Hope to feed upon, so long as there is Almighty Power and Infinite Mercy in God. And seeing there is fewel sufficient, and neer enough at hand to a believing heart, let us not through our slothful unbelief, let the fire go out for want of our fetching it in, and laying it on. When our hopes are at the last gaspe, yet they may be revived with that gracious promise, *The Lord shall judge his people, and repent*

Psal. 30. 5.

Deut. 32. 36.

repent himself for his servants, when he seeth that their power is gone, and that there is none shut up or left.

Observ. 3. *That it is God who worketh deliverances for his people, and that usually in such a manner, that it plainly appears to be only his hand and doing.* Observ. 3.

He it was that here turned again the captivity of Zion. It is he (saith David) that giveth salvation Psal. 144. 10. to Kings, that delivereth David his Servant from the hurtful sword. The Psalmist tells us, The Lord Psal. 9. 16. is known by the judgement which he executeth: the wicked is spared in the work of his own hands. True, God maketh himself many times known this way. It concerneth his own honor, and the good of men in this world, that he should do so, that others might see, and hear, and fear, and do no more Deut. 17. 23. presumptuously. But God is more gloriously known by his mercies, and wonderful deliverances which he worketh for his servants, and it concerneth his honor, as much, or more, to make himself so known: Therefore in such works he makes bare his arm, that we may see it naked, as the Prophet Isai. 52. 10. Isaiah speaks: The Lord hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the Nations, and all the ends of the Earth shall see the Salvation of our God. But in what work was it, that God thus made bare his holy arm? It was (as the foregoing verse shews) for the comfort of his people, and the redeeming of Jerusalem. So bare and naked commonly doth

Psal. 98. 2.

doth God shew his own arm in such great deliverances of mercy, that the most purblind eyes, even the very Heathen may see it. *His righteousness hath he openly shewed in the sight of the Heathen,* saith the Psalmist; and here in our Text the Heathen took notice that it was the hand of God: *Then said they among the Heathen, The Lord hath done, &c.*

Now God is pleased to work his great deliverances and works of mercy, in this manner, for divers reasons; some relating to himself, some to his people whom he delivereth, some to his and their Enemies, from whom he delivereth them.

Ratio. 1.

Isai. 42. 8.

1. With reference to himself, that the whole honor and glory of such a work might more clearly and intirely be ascribed to him alone: That is a Jewel of his own Crown; no creature must share with him in wearing that: *My glory will I not give* (saith he) *to another.* Therefore when he coins such a work, he sets his own Image upon it, and therewith also this superscription, *Soli-Deo gloria: To God, who only doth marvellous things, be the glory:* This he would have acknowledged, not only by those who are barely Patients, and Receivers of so great a mercy, but even by all those whom he is pleased to use as Agents and Instruments in his work to bring it to pass. *All those must* (like the Elders in the Revelation) *cast their Crowns before his Throne, saying, Thou art worthy O Lord* (thou, not we) *to receive honor, and glory, and power: For thou hast done all things, and for thy pleasure, and by thy conduct all was and is done.*

2. God

2. God works his great works of mercy in this *Ratio*. 2. manner for divers reasons which concern his people, As,

1. That they might receive them more free from all temptations to Evil. And,

2. With clearer and greater incitements unto Goodness and Piety. As namely,

1. That they might be under a less temptation of ascribing too much to men, whom he honoreth to be his Instruments. We are all, even good men, a little too subject to this fault: We hug the messengers by whom God sends these mercies with such endless complements, and give them up so much of our real hearty affections, that all, or the greatest part is spent that way; and when we should come to praise God, and tender to him the real manifestations of our thankfulness, scarce a tenth part is left, and that also offered not so cheerfully and lively as it ought. To lessen this temptation, God is pleased to shew his own hand more clearly and wonderfully in his gracious deliverances.

2. It may be to prevent pride, and a vain lifting up of heart in his people. As extraordinary favours of Princes are apt to puff up vain men, so extraordinary Providences of Divine favour are, through Satans subtilty, made snares even to good men, to lift up their hearts with pride: the good King *Hezekiah* was taken in this snare: After two such ex- <sup>2 Chr. 32. 25.</sup> traordinary favours of God, as the Scripture relates at large, the heart even of this good King was lifted up: the best antidote which heaven is, to con-

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sider,

1 Cor. 4. 7.

sider, how clearly such favours proceed from the hand of God, who never sheweth his favour to make men more proud, but more humble and thankful : Here that of St. Paul is fit to be remembered ; *What hast thou, that thou didst not receive ? Now if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received it ?*

But this is not all, why God causeth his own hand to appear in his great works of mercy, to prevent and lessen the temptations unto evil ; but specially and more principally it is to settle his servants more firmly in the Principles of true Religion, and to incite and encourage them unto the practises of true Piety ; As

1. Such providences of God do help much to settle his servants more firmly in the Principles of true Religion ; and the more clearly the hand of God appears in them, the more plainly do they teach them to adore and serve the great God, who ruleth in Heaven and Earth, and doth whatsoever pleaseth him. Doubtless the providences of God are intended by him, and are so regular, that they are fit to teach men religious Piety ; and they do so, when they are rightly interpreted by the Commentary of his written Word : Otherwise when (as some of our new Teachers have done of late) they are construed to the over-ruling of his plain Word, they may mislead men, and harden them in impiety. When God doth plainly manifest his hand of vengeance upon some wicked men, who have blessed themselves a long time in the prosperous successes of their wicked devices, doth not this make much



to settle men in those Principles of Religion which David infers from thence? *The righteous* (saith he) *shall rejoyce when he seeth the vengeance, he shall wash his feet in the blond of the wicked:* So that a man shall say (a man from thence may conclude) *Verily there is a reward for the righteous,* Psal. 58. 10. 11. *verily he is a God that judgeth in the Earth:* yet I confesse, that Providences of Judgement are not so easie, nor so safe to be interpreted, as the Providences of Signal Deliverances and great Mercies to his People. In these the aim of God is more clearly seen, and they do more plainly tend to settle the Principles of Religion, more firmly in the hearts of his servants, and to encourage them unto the sincere practise of true Piety. Doth not God plainly teach his servants by these, to adore with all reverence his power, his greatness, his wisdom, his graciousness and mercy manifested in them? Doth he not encourage them to walk with more resolution and cheerfulness in the wayes of his fear and true piety? Doth he not clear the eyes of their Faith, by taking out those moles of Infidelity, which their own afflictions, and the prosperity of their Enemies had before raised to trouble their eyes? With such moles of Infidelity the best Servants of God may be sometimes troubled, whilst their afflictions are many, and the flourishing of the wicked are notorious, as appears by the staggering complaint of the Psalmist, *Verily I have cleansed my heart in vain, and washed my hands in innocency:* But when God appears once in a way of mercy to work a signal deliverance for his his Servants,

vants, this clears their eyes of such motes, and settles their poor wavering hearts more firmly in the Principles, and more resolutely in the Practices of true Religion. Let me instance a little more particularly in the happy and kindly effects, which such mercies of God work in the hearts of his true servants, or at least properly tend to work.

2. They tend to draw the entire affections of his servants more strongly, and to knit their hearts more close to God for ever : The more clearly the hand of Gods favour doth appear in any blessing, the more strongly doth it lay hold upon, and graipe a pious heart to make it wholly his. When God doth deliver his people, or any of his servants in particular out of trouble and danger, so as if he took him up in his own arms, and hugged him with many kisses, and carryed him out (as *Aneas* did his Father out of the *Trojan* flames) upon his own shoulders ; will not this cause any servant of God to claspe him again with more entire affections, like *David* ? *I will love thee, O Lord, my strength. The Lord is my Rock and my Fortreß, and my Deliverer, my God, my strength in whom I will trust, my Buckler, and the Horn of my Salvation, and my high Tower.*

Psal. 18. 1, 2.

3. They put them even to study and bethink themselves more seriously, what returns of praise, and what fitting expressions of thankfulness they shall offer to God. For extraordinary mercies call for some extraordinary returns : So *David*, *What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me ?*

Psal. 116. 13.

4. They

4. They make them more mindful of their vows, (if they made any such in their sad times of trouble, as many pious hearts do) and careful to pay them. So *David* again; *Thou O God hast heard my Vows, thou hast given me the heritage of those that fear thy Name.* But what will *David* do upon this? He doth so excellently declare that in another Psalm, and his expressions (me thinks) are such, as if they had been fitted purposely for our gracious Sovereign, and our selves, to put words into our mouths, and tell us what we should do: *Thou hast caused men to ride over our heads, we went through fire and water, but thou broughtest us out into a wealthy place. I will go into thine house with Burnt-offerings, I will pay thee my Vows, which my lips have uttered, and my mouth hath spoken, when I was in trouble.* Psalm. 61. 5.  
Psalm. 66. 12, 13, 14.

5. They tend to increase their confidence in God, and to make them rest with a quieter security upon his Almighty and gracious Arm, for the future: So *David* again; *The Lord that delivered me out of the paw of the Lyon, and out of the paw of the Bear, he will deliver me out of the hand of this Philistine.* So also *St. Paul*; *I was delivered out of the mouth of the Lyon. And the Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me unto his heavenly Kingdom, to whom be glory for ever and ever, Amen.* 1 Sam. 17. 37.  
2 Tim. 4. 17, 18.

6. They bind his servants to walk humbly, and more closely with their God, as worthy of his mercies, that they may never give him cause afterwards to upbraid them with what he once did

2 Sam. 12. 7, 8, for them, as once he did *David* very roundly upon this account.

9, 10.

These are manifest reasons, why God is pleased to shew his own hand so clearly in those great deliverances, which he worketh for his people, for their Spiritual advantage, and improving of their graces: And last of all, some reasons may be conceived, why he doth thus, in respect of his and their Enemies. As,

1. That some of them, when they behold the signal favour of God to his servants, may lay down all their envy and malice towards them, and repent heartily of all their oppressions and injuries done to them. Thus we hope many beholding now the great work of God in preserving and restoring happily our gracious Sovereign, will repent heartily, like *Peter*, for denying their Lord and Master.

2. That others, who have not so much grace, may yet be stricken with horror at the sight of Gods manifest hand, and may repent at least with *Judas*, loathing their pieces of silver, the bait and reward of their Treason, and may acknowledge, that they have sinned and done very foolishly in betraying innocent blood; And if any shall repent thus, God in mercy keep them from an end like *Judas*, unless they still retain his heart, and might be tempted again for pieces of silver to plot another betraying of their Master.

3. That the most obdurate of all might see, and fear, and be dismayed, and cry for sorrow of heart, and howl for vexation of spirit, according  
to

to that of the Prophet *Isaiah*, *Behold, my servants shall sing for joy of heart: but ye shall cry for sorrow of heart, and howl for vexation of spirit.* Isa. 65. 14.

Thus ye see the great God hath many several ends, and weighty reasons, why he is pleased to shew his own hand so clearly in those great deliverances which he worketh for his people, and why he will have it known, that it is he, only he who turneth again the captivity of his *Zion*.

I have been somewhat large in the recital of many reasons, why it pleaseth God to work his great deliverances of his people in this manner; but that which moved me hereunto, was, because I have discovered withall the true and right uses, which we should make of such wonderful mercies of God, and the spiritual advantages which we might and should gain by them: If we answer those ends of God exactly, then we make the right use of them to our selves. This is to do a just right to God the doer, and to improve them aright to our selves the receivers.

1. Then let us give to God alone the whole glory of such deliverances. Let not those whom God is pleased to use as his great Instruments in them divide it (as the As in the fable did the prey, as much to himself as to the Lion) as much to themselves as to God. Nor let us divide it, as some men are apt enough to do (in that more silly then the As) more to man, then to God. Let the glory be divided neither equally, nor inequally: let it not be divided at all, but ascribed wholly and intirely

tirely to the great and gracious God, who worketh all, and in all.

2. Let the hand of God, which may be discerned clearly in such deliverances, make our hearts as clearly for him, as his hand hath been for us.

3. Let us even study what kind of thanksgiving doth best beseech us to return unto God for so great a mercy: not study what we should devise, but study what he requires, what he may expect, and what will be most pleasing and acceptable to him, and offer him that with all studious carefulness.

4. If any of us have made vows to God, to win his favour the more readily, and to procure more speedily this great mercy which he hath shewed to our Nation, let us remember to pay cheerfully in the midst of our joyes, what we formerly vowed in the midst of our sorrows.

5. Let us henceforth begin to trust our good God with more confidence in all our straits and troubles, and let us rest upon him with an hopeful security for the perfecting of his good work begun now amongst us. Within these few years, yea, within these few moneths; how many were there amongst us, that even dispaired of ever seeing the things which we see, or hearing the things which we hear: yet there were alwayes some strongly confident, that God would in his due time certainly turn again the captivity of our *Zion*.

By this time, I hope, we have all learned to rest with more confidence upon the power and graciousness



ousness of our God, and to trust him for all that yet remaineth to be done : yet truly our Prayers must go along with our trust : What we expect with desire, we must pray for with earnestness. Let us therefore continue in Prayer, that God would perfect his good work begun, that he would still preserve the man of his right hand under the shadow of his wings, that he would *hide him in the secret of his presence from the pride of men*, yea (and, if it be his good pleasure, to bless him with that rare happiness, which hath seldom befalln the best of Princes) *so keep him secretly in a Pavilion from the strife of tongues.* Psal. 31. 20.

6. Lastly, Above all, let us who rejoyce greatly in this wonderful mercy of Gods turning again the captivity of our *Zion*, be careful to walk worthy of it. Let us *walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise*; not only as men over-joyed at present, but as circumspect men, careful to preserve what we rejoyce in. Otherwise it may befall us, as it doth some young Heirs, who rejoyce too much, when they come to a rich Inheritance, and yet within a few years, by their vain prodigality, their Inheritance and Joy both are brought to an end : Let us take heed, that we do not provoke God within a litle while, to upbraid us with this great mercy he hath bestowed upon us, in such terms as he once upbraided *David*. I delivered you from a very miserable slavery, which ye had pulled upon your own heads by your wilful follies, and from the danger of a greater slavery, which was even ready to be put upon your necks ; I gave you a  
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Ephes. 5. 15.

King according to your hearts desires, such a King as exceeded your desires, in whom nothing was wanting that reasonably could be desired, or expected in a mortal creature, and so gave him to you in my love and mercy, that it cost you not one drop of your blood to have him (which ye would have thought a great purchase to have gained with the blood of many thousands : ) and if this had been too little for you, what is there more which I would not have done for you ? Why then now do ye despise the Commandements of your God ? Why do ye give occasions to the Enemies of this mercy to blaspheme ? Brethren, if we the people of this Nation, after all this, shall continue in a debauchery of scandalous conversation, what is there left to accumulate the aggravation of our sins ? If after so great an affliction, if after such a wonderful deliverance of mercy, if after God hath given us one of the best Loadstones upon Earth to draw our hearts unto Piety, Sobriety and Vertue, (the Exemplary attractiveness of so pious a Sovereign) we shall yet continue in our sinful ways without fear, or thankfulness, or shame, what shall God do to us to better us ? or what shall we be able to say to him ? Our sins now will be much greater, as being committed not only against the authority of the holy Rules of God, but against the lustre of so bright and winning an Example in man.

These are the uses which all we, that have sinned under the captivity of our *Zion*, that have prayed for a deliverance, that rejoyce now in the wonderful deliverance which God hath wrought by his  
own

own holy arm, should make of this mercy. And as for those who have been enemies to this great work of mercy, who have had their heads or hands deepest in the plots or ways of bringing our Zion into captivity, or holding her still under it, let us pray heartily for them, that they may now see their folly and wickedness, and repent thereof with real sorrow; or if not, that they may be so dismayed and confounded (beholding clearly the hand of God in this mercy which he hath wrought) as they may never again dare to make the least attempt against it: And doubtless, if we, that rejoyce in this mercy, shall answer the other ends of God, by our thankfulness and worthy walking, God himself will take care, that all the Enemies of this mercy shall answer those ends which concern them, either by their repentance, or by their awful dread and horror.

Observ. 4. *That it pleaseth God so work many times his great deliverances for his people so strangely, suddenly, and unexpectedly, that they can scarce at first believe their own senses, but are like men that dream.* Observ. 4.

It is said in the Gospel, *That the Enemy sowed his tares whilest men slept:* The Devil indeed doth steal upon us, and cast his fire-brands of mischief (whilest we sleep) but their flames quickly awaken us with such a sense, as put us beyond thinking our selves in a dream. The gracious God of Heaven doth also often sow his blessings whilest men sleep.

Act. 12. 7, 8, 9;  
10, 11.

Whilest our Faith sleeps as to the belief, and our hope sleeps as to the expectation of so great a mercy, he comes privily as it were, and lays it down by us upon our pillows. At our first awakening, our eyes begin to gaze upon it, yet we can scarce believe it to be other then a dream. Such was the unexpected and strange deliverance of *Peter* out of Prison, whom *Herod* had destinated the next day for a Sacrifice of popularity, to please the blindly zealous *Jews*. The Angel is sent whilest he was fast asleep, he strikes him upon the side, saying, *Arise Peter*, and he ariseth, and the chains fall off from his hands. The Angel bids him, *Gird thy self, and bind on thy Sandals, cast thy garment about thee, and follow me*. *Peter* doth all this, enough (a man would think) to awaken him throughly: yet the Text tells us, *He went out and followed him, and wist not, that it was true which was done by the Angel, but thought he saw a Vision*: yea still further, the Angel conducts him through the first and second guard, makes the Iron gate which led into the City fly open, and leads him through one street past all opposition and danger, and there leaves him. All this while the Apostle thought, he was but in a dream; until his Guardian Angel left him to himself, he came not to himself. Then he came to himself, and said; *Now I know of a surety, that the Lord hath sent his Angel, and hath delivered me out of the hand of Herod, and from all the expectation of the people of the Jews*. As strange and unexpected (I conceive) was that deliverance of the *Jews* from the barbarous, malicious,

licious, bloody plot of cruel *Haman*. When this poor people, in every Province of *Abasbuerus* Dominion, were mourning and weeping, fasting and lying in sack-cloth and ashes, when the day of their sad doom was approaching, and *Hamans* Cut-throats were in a readiness to make a general Massacre of them: what hope of help or deliverance was left to them? But behold on a suddain come Posts from *Mordecai* with other Letters, *that they should gather themselves together, and stand upon their defence, and slay, if they could, all that should assail them.* Could they believe these Letters at first to be real? Did they not think that either the Posts, or themselves, or both were in a dream? Were not the first Letters for their destruction signed with the Kings Ring? Did they not know certainly, that having such a Signature, they were irreversible? How then could there be such a turn on a sudden? But though the Letters were not reverfible, nor indeed reversed, yet they were as good as reversed by a way not imaginable. *Mordecai* the great Patron of his Nation is advanced into the Kings favour by a strange providence, *Haman* their great enemy is hanged, with all his sons, the *Jews* have a lawfull Warrant granted them, to arm themselves and stand upon their own defence, the fear of *Mordecai* and of the *Jews* falls upon their enemies, this chills their courage for the present, though perhaps it could not quench their malice: but who now dares assail them, to execute the first Letters procured by *Haman*? Surely if the holyest Prophet of God

that ever lived, had but a few days before foretold them of such a deliverance, he would scarce have been thought to tell them any thing ~~but~~ his own dream. And the poor *Jews* thus strangely and unexpectedly delivered, might then have well said, as our Psalmist doth here, *We were like them that dream*: Yet thus it pleaseth the great and wise God oftentimes to work deliverances for his people, to make them know, that the great *Keeper of Israel doth neither slumber nor sleep.*

Now such deliverances make us like men that dream, which are wrought with these or the like circumstances.

1. When God worketh them suddenly, and turneth the wheel of his Providence with so quick a motion, that it is scarce imaginable how so great a work could be done in so short a space.

2. When he doth his work by instruments and means very unlikely and improbable, so that no man expected, that God could or would have done his work with such tools.

3. When he delivers his people in the very nick of extreme danger, *inter pontem & fontem*: when the ram is caught by the horns in a bush for a sacrifice, at that very instant, when the Knife was at *Isaac's* throat.

4. When he raiseth his people out of a condition so desperate and hopeless, that it is like the raising up of *Lazarus* out of his grave after he had been four dayes buried.



Yet thus, even thus many times it pleaseth the great, powerfull, wise, mercifull and wonder-working God to contrive both the seasons and the means, to lay out both the way and the time of deliverance for his servants: which he doth,

1. To cause the wonders of his Providence to be more deeply admired and adored, and everlastingly remembred. *He hath made his wonderfull works to be remembred. The Heavens shall praise thy wonders O Lord: thy faithfulness also in the Congregation of the Saints.* Psal. 111. 4. Psal. 89 5.

2. To let a more visible and remarkable character of his special favour and love upon his servants so delivered. Such honour have his Saints in the eyes of the World oftentimes, and besides it is to them in their own bosom a sweet testimony of Gods special favour and tender care over them. *By this I know that thou favourest me, that mine enemy doth not triumph over me.* Psal. 149. 9. Psal. 41. 11.

3. He doth it to quicken his people unto a more lively and elevated strain of celebrating his prayes: Such strange and unexpected deliverances make a deeper impression upon the hearts of men: The few days of *Purim* to be celebrated by them and their Posterity throughout every generation, that the memorial of their deliverance might not perish from their seed, arose from such a deep impression: and so also the holy resolution of the Psalmist: *While I live I will prayse the Lord, I will sing prayes unto my God, while I have any being.* Psal. 146. 2.

4. He

Psal. 135. 6.

4. He doth it, that all the world may take notice, that it is he who ruleth in Heaven and in Earth, who doth whatsoever he pleaseth in Heaven and in Earth, in the Sea and all deep places.

*Applicat.*

But though God worketh his great works of mercy in such a manner, as it even astonisheth us with admiration, and maketh us like men that dream, yet let us not be like men that dream, or that sleep, when we offer up our praises to him for such mercies: Let not us the people of this Nation, be so dull in praising God for that great deliverance now wrought for us, as if we reckoned it but a pleasant dream. God hath now given us a pretty space to come to our selves, if we entertain his mercy like sober Christians, and do not (as some lay to the charge of some rejoycers) drink away the religious sense of it. It is time for us now to compose our spirits to a thanksgiving-frame, yea an high frame futeable to the greatness of the mercy. Though at first we were like men that dream, yet let us not continue so still, at least let us not do worse, when the mercy is so clearly assured to us, that we are sure we dream not, let us not lye down again and sleep in our sins as securely, as if God had done nothing at all to awaken us. Let this day of solemnity rouse us up, which alarms us to praise our great and gracious God. Look every one of you to the tuning of your own Instruments, your own hearts, and let every of us awaken our own souls to bear their part in this consort of singing praises to God, as

*David*

David did. *Awake up my glory, awake Psaltery and Psal. 57. 8.*  
Harp, I my self will awake right early.

Observ. 5. *That common and natural rejoycing, Observ. 5.*  
in such wonderful mercies of God, is lawful and  
comely, if used lawfully.

When the mouths of Gods people here were filled with laughter, this (as I have noted before) was a joy no better then natural : yet sure it was lawful, or else the people of God would never have so rejoyced, or at least, if they had done it, the Psalmist here would not have thus spoken of it, if there had been any unlawfullness in it. But to put the matter out of doubt, we shall find it so, not only here, but alwayes, or at least most commonly with the people of God, after great deliverances of mercy. Thus the *Jews*, when the malicious plot of *Eth. 9. 19.*  
proud *Haman* was defeated, kept a day then and in following generations, of feasting and joy, a good day (as they called it) wherein they sent portions one to another ; which was but fewel to feed a natural joy. And so the *Israelites*, after *David* had slain *Goliath*, whose dreadful stature and strength, with his proud brags, had stricken the *Israelitish* Host into a chill fear, when they returned back from the slaughter of the *Philistines*, they were met with a company of women out of all Cities, with Tabrets and Instruments of Musick, singing and dancing. *1 Sam. 18. 6.*  
This joy was but of the common and vulgar stamp, yet sure if it had been to be reprov'd, it would have never been related so barely in holy Writ,

without any touch of dislike. But what need I say much, in a matter so clear and of no greater consequence?

*Applicat.*

Exod. 36. 6.

I shall not need to excite any of you this day unto this kind of rejoycing. It hath been and continues so great Universally every where, that never was it so seen before in our *Israel*, nor ever perhaps the like cause. This joy is as free in the Nation, as was once the cheerful devotion of the *Jews*, bringing in their gifts for the Tabernacle: There needs no Trumpet to blow it up, but perhaps (as then) more need of a Proclamation to restrain it: yet I am far from *Judas's* repining, *Why is this wast of the Ointment?* Only give me leave to give you a seasonable caution touching this kind of rejoycing. Remember that all natural rejoycing walks upon the very brink of carnal rejoycing: If your heads grow but a little giddy with natural joy, it is an hundred to one if ye fall not into the stream of carnal joy, and stick not fast in the black mud of it. All our affections in truth are as a stream, with much mud of corruption at the bottom. Little or no mud appears when they over-flow not the banks of Religion or Reason: But when they rise very high, they are commonly like waters in a flood, much soyled and fullyed with mud. If our present excess of joy be only fullyed with a little vanity, it will be more pardonable, if the mud of drunkenness and debauchery doth not make it look black and stink, not only in the nostrils of God, but of all our pious companions in this joy.

Observe.

Observ. 6. *That though natural rejoycing in Gods wonderful Deliverances doth begin the dance, yet religious and spiritual rejoycing must follow and keep measure with it.*

If at the first rising it flies neer the ground, yet like an Hawk, it must wind about to mount up higher : If it be no more then the joy of laughter, it is but as *the crackling of thorns under a pot* : Eccles. 7. 6.  
Our tongues should also be filled with singing : *Is any man merry ? let him sing Psalms* (saith St. James) James 5. 13.  
Is any man cheerfully affected, or filled with joy through any great blessing of God? (though it be not material to keep strictly to the very letter of the word in singing of Psalms, yet) let him tune and quicken his heart, and let him elevate his spirit (as the voyce is in singing) to celebrate the praises of God. It was so ordinary with the ancient people of God, upon the receipt of great blessings, and after gracious deliverances, to sing songs of praise unto God, that if we do not alwayes read it was done, yet, we have no reason to conceive it left undone ; yea, not only with them, but it hath been the received custom of all Nations in the world, to offer up their Sacrifices and Solemnities of Praise (after their manner) upon such occasions to those Deities, from whom they conceived the blessing, which they rejoyced in, to descend : yea, rather then fail of paying their thanks to some Divine Power, they were ready to dedicate an Altar *To the Unknown God*. The very light of Nature, Act. 17. 23.  
F 2

ture, as it ties, so it hath taught all men to offer up praises to the God of their Salvation.

But why these Thanksgivings were commonly offered up in Songs (so as now praising God, singing to him, and Thanksgiving are become *Synonyma*, words of the same signification) we may conceive these three reasons.

1. Because it requires a serious and somewhat studious meditation to compose a Song.

2. A more lively elevation of spirit then ordinary, both in composing and singing.

3. Because such things as are settled a little in our memories by a Song, (as if that faculty did take delight in such measures, or were much helped by them) are longer retained usually, and oftner called to mind.

Now all these things are very necessary in us, that we may praise God as we ought for his eminent mercies, and great deliverances.

1. It becomes us to meditate and study, how to frame our hearts and tongues fit for such praises of God as may be somewhat suitable to so great a blessing.

2. It is reason that we should raise up our spirits to a liveliness more then ordinary at such a time.

3. That we should retain the remembrance of such mercies for ever, and often call them actually into our minds.

Whether for these or other reasons, this we find howsoever; that it was an usual manner to celebrate the Praises of God in Hymns or Songs. Thus  
we



we have the Song of *Moses*, after the overthrow of Exod. 15. 1.  
the *Egyptians*; the Song of the *Israelites*, after God  
had given them water in the Wilderness; the Song Numb. 21 17.  
of *Deborah* and *Barak*, the Song of *Hannah*, the Judg. 5. 7.  
Song of *Hezekiah*, after his recovery, which is called 1 Sam. 2. 1.  
*the writing of Hezekiah*, because it was written in  
*Votiva Tabula*, a Table dedicated and hung up (as  
some Interpreters conceive) in the Temple, *in per-*  
*petuam rei memoriam*, as an everlasting monument  
of his thankfulness. What should I speak of the  
many Hymns or Psalms of *David*? They are  
enough to afford us a manual of praises for all oc-  
casions. And what he so frequently did himself, he  
as frequently exhorteth others also to do the same.  
*Sing unto the Lord, bless his Name, shew forth* Psal. 96. 2.  
*his Salvation from day to day. Sing forth the* Psal. 66. 2.  
*honour of his Name, make his Praise glorious.*

Let it not therefore suffice us (dear Christians) *Applicat.*  
that we have vented our selves so freely in a way  
of common rejoycing: This is but like the outside  
or hide of our inward joy, not fit to be offered un-  
to God in Sacrifice: there must be a second course  
of rejoycing served in after that gross joy, a sober,  
religious, hearty, solemn thanksgiving. I confess  
there is a necessary use of the natural spirits of joy  
in the solemnity of a religious Thanksgiving. As In-  
cense cannot be offered without fire to make it burn:  
so neither can there be a spiritual rejoycing with-  
out some spirits of natural to bear it up. The chil-  
dren of *Israel* could not get their hearts in tune to  
sing a Song of *Zion*, when they sate by the waters  
of *Babylon*. When they that carryed them captive

Pſal. 137. 1, 2, and waſted them, ſaid unto them, *Sing us one of*  
 3, 4. *the Songs of Zion: How (ſaid they) ſhall we ſing*  
*the Lords Song in a ſtrange Land?* There was  
 ſomething in it, that *Eliſha* called for a Mintrel  
 2 King. 3. 15. to play: the Scripture tells us, *It came to paſſ, while*  
*the Miniſtril played, that the hand of the Lord came*  
*upon him.* The Muſick it ſeems compoſed and cheer-  
 ed his ſpirit, fitting it to deliver to thoſe Kings the  
 joyful tidings of an happy ſucceſs. But yet though  
 there be a good uſe of the ſpirit of natural joy,  
 they are never theleſs but the Crab-ſtock upon  
 which a religious rejoycing may well be grafted.  
 Will you let a Crab-ſtock ſtand in your Orchard,  
 being ſufficiently rooted, without grafting ſome  
 good cien upon it to bear you pleaſant fruit?  
 While therefore your hearts are ſo frolick and  
 cheerful with natural rejoycing, is it not good  
 time now to graft upon it a religious, ſober, hearty,  
 cheerful thankſgiving unto God, for this his ſo  
 great mercy towards us? Yes, it is high time, and  
 a good ſeaſon yet; but ye know the time of graft-  
 ing will be over, if ye neglect the due ſeaſon.  
 What means all our great blazes of outward joy,  
 if our hearty praifes of God do not in ſome mea-  
 ſure answer them? He that carryeth fire in a cen-  
 ſer, and hath no Incenſe ready to burn upon it, it  
 may ſerve for the uſe of his own hearth, it is not  
 for Gods Altar. Our rejoycing is to our ſelves,  
 not to God, unleſs it quicken us to celebrate his  
 praifes. But oh, let not our good God find in us a  
 cauſe to ſay, what *Iſaac* once ſaid to his Father;  
*Behold, the fire and the wood, but where is the*  
 Lamb

*Lamb for a Burns-offering ? Here is fire enough of outward joy, and wood enough laid on to make it flame high, but where is the Sacrifice ? where are those hearty cheerful praises that should be offered to me for a sweet smelling Savour ?*

Observ. 7. *That God is pleased many times to work deliverances for his people in so glorious and conspicuous a manner, that it draws the eyes even of aliens and strangers to take notice of, and admire the great things which he doth for them.*

This deliverance of his people was such, that they said among the Heathen, *The Lord hath done great things for them* : The bright beams of Gods favour in such mercies very often shine further with their light, then they warm with their heat. *All the ends of the world* (saith the Psalmist) *have seen the salvation of God* : yea, but all the ends of the world, though they saw it, yet did not feel the benefit of it. The Heathen, who are out of the pale of the Church, cannot gather those curious flowers, of mercie which God planteth in that garden, nor perhaps come so neer as to smell the sweetness of them, until God openeth to them a fair way of entrance into it : yet they may perhaps look over the pale, or through the pale to see somewhat of their beauty at a distance : yet howsoever, God gets more honour to himself, and deserves a greater honour from his people, when he sheweth his righteousness openly (his great favours

Psalm. 98. 3.  
Psalm. 98. 1.  
to

to his people openly) *in the sight of the Heathen*, so that he even forceth them to confess, as here; *The Lord hath done great things for them.*

*Applicat.*

Might it not then do us some good (Brethren) if we would but take good notice, what Forreiners and Strangers of other Nations think and say of this great work of mercy, which God hath now wrought for these three united Nations? Can they say less of it, then that God hath done great things for us? And shall not we blush for shame, we who feel and taste every day, and have such hopes to taste every day, more freely of this great mercy of God; if we should say no more then they say, and do no more then they do? Should not our hearty and real thankfulness, equal and exceed their wonder? our high praises go beyond their high admiration? If our sense of so great a mercy doth not draw more from us, then the sight of it from them, it is sure, because we want sense, at least we have not a true and right sense of it. If we only joy in it like sensual men, or wonder at it like sleepy dreamers, not yet fully awakened, it may be spoken to us as Christ once said to his Disciples, *What singular thing do you? What do ye more then others?* Do not even the Heathen? do not forreiners and strangers do the same? It is for those who feel not the cordial warmth and refreshing of this mercy, to say and confess coldly, It was a very strange and wonderful providence of God: but for us who were lately like that poor *Egyptian* servant, left by the *Amalekites* in the Wilderness, pining, and ready to give up the ghost with hopelessness,

Mat. 5. 46, 47.

1. Sam. 30. 12.

lesness, but now are so refreshed with this mercy, that our spirit is come again to us, for us what can we do lesse then say, *Blesse the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, blesse his holy Name:* It is not enough for us to say no more then strangers, *The Lord hath done great things for us,* but it becomes us to say, *We will also do great things for him,* and not only to say it, but doe it. And although we cannot in truth do any great things for God answerable to the great things which he hath done for us, not the King himself, nor the honourable houses of Parliament, nor both together, no nor the whole Nation with them, (for when they and we have done all, it must still be confessed, *We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which was our duty to do*) yet it is a time both for them and us, when God hath done so great things for us, to put forth the best endeavours to do (if not great things, yet) as great as we are able, for God and his Sonne the Lord Jesus Christ. And truely now is there a time, if we ever knew any, wherein it may well be said, *Domino opus est,* The Lord hath need of some to do great things for him. Nor do I doubt but our gracious King and his honourable Houses of Parliament have had this long agoe in their serious thoughts, *Quid retribuemus Domino? What shall we render again to the Lord?* and I hope they shall not want Remembrancers amongst those *Watchmen*, who are set upon the walls of our *Jerusalem*, who will not keep silence, nor give God or them any rest, until our *Jerusalem* be established and made a praise in the whole earth.

Psal 103. 1.

Luke 17. 1.

Math. 21. 3.

Isaiah 62. 6, 7.

G

Thus

Thus have I now run through all the matters of chiefnote in this portion of Scripture: I shall now come to apply that which hath been spoken (though it hath been done in part already) more directly and fully to the occasion of our solemn meeting this day; and herein I shall aim only at these three things.

1. To move you to consider, into what a miserable captivity and slavery God had lately given up our *Zion*, for our high provoking sins: though he formerly had manifested, how dear and precious a people we were in his eyes, by as visible, remarkable, and extraordinary tokens of his speciall favour, as may be expected by any people.

2. To draw you to consider thoroughly, how the Lord hath turned again our Captivity, so as we cannot but acknowledge it to be his doing, and how suddainly, strangely, and unexpectedly he hath done it, so as we could at first scarcely believe our owne senses, or think it any other but our own golden dream.

3. To stirre you up to offer unto God the author of this our great deliverance, such reall *sacrifices of thanksgiving*, and to sing to him such *songs of praise*, that he being well pleased with our returns, may stil go on to perfect his work of mercy begun, so as that every day it may become more and more glorious to himself, and more and more joyfull to us.

1. I shall lead you to consider into what a miserable slavery and Captivity the just judgement of God, punishing us for our sins with our sins, had cast us.



Ye will think perhaps this a sad Subject, and unfit for so joyfull a day.

*Were it not better (may some say) to forget* Joh. 16. 21.  
*those daies of our sorrow, like a woman in travail,*  
*who, after she is delivered, remembreth no more the*  
*anguish, for joy that a man is born into the world?*  
 Truly I should willingly enough have accorded to  
 such a motion, but that there is an unavoidable  
 necessity to draw the black ground of our former  
 slavery in the same table, wherein we desire to set  
 forth a lively representation of the wonderfull mer-  
 cy of God towards us in delivering us from it. For  
 I foresee well enough, that this word of Slavery  
 will sound harshly in the ears of some men. All  
 those who have so long cried up these our unhappy  
 times of division and Anarchy, as glorious and blest-  
 sed daies of liberty, will look askint upon me:  
 And many others who have suffered little them-  
 selves, and want that blood of Christian Charity in  
 their veines, to make them compassionate of their  
 brethrens sufferings; and such also whose ignorance  
 did not afford them foresight enough to apprehend  
 the extreme danger we were in, of sinking deeper  
 into a more miserable slavery, will thinke perhaps  
 this word of Slavery to relish of too much bitterness.  
 But truly I speak no more of our former late con-  
 dition, then what my Sense and Reason (tempered  
 with Charity) convinces me to be apparent truth,  
 and what I shall demonstrate clearly (I suppose)  
 to all but such as are blinded with the wages of  
 their unrighteousnesse, or hardned through their  
 former disorders, or present willfulnesse.

What? were we not under a miserable slavery and captivity? If I had nothing else to offer in proof of this but one thing, which I am sure no man can deny (and yet who can speak of it without sighs and tears?) it were enough.

Was not our dread Sovereign, the light of our Israel, our late King of glorious and blessed memory (who, howsoever he were ignominiously treated both in words and deeds by some desperate wicked men, who sought, and at length compassed his destruction, yet never went less in my thoughts, and of many millions besides, sober and pious Christians, then for the most vertuous, pious, just, gracious and fatherly Prince, that ever yet reigned over these Nations) was not he (I say) brought under the state of a miserable Captive? What liberty was left him, but what the grace of God and the noblenesse of his own spirit (which are uncaptivable) gave him? yea, he dyed and perished (as to the outward man) in such a Captivity, to the great sin and shame of the whole Nation, and to the heart-breaking and unspeakeable sorrow of thousands and millions of his faithfull loyall Subjects. If we had suffered no captivity or slavery in our own persons, yet were we not all Captives in him? He that did not feel himself so then, may suspect his own heart to want something that is required in a good Christian, and a loyall Subject. Alas! his sufferings were such, as (except the sufferings of our blessed Saviour) scarce any miserable Captive ever underwent the like, all circumstances considered. Our blessed Saviour once tryed from  
Heaven

Heaven against *Saul*, as persecuting him, when yet himself was far above the reach of his rage: it was only his members whom he persecuted. He reckons that he was an *Hungred, Thirsty, Naked, Sick, and in Prison*, when this was not his own, but only the case of his poor members. Acts, 9. 4.  
Mat. 25. 35.

And might not we complain as justly, that we were Captives, when our head and King was captive, and that a sword pierced through our hearts, when that fatall blow cut off him? Could we be free, when he was so captivated? Or were we ever such fools, to look for any better then a state of miserable slavery under those cursed hypocritical wretches, who had captivated thus wickedly their own and our Sovereign?

But if this weighs too little with you to convince you of our late miserable slavery, let us come to that which our selves have both seen, and heard, and felt. That will be enough (unlesse our reason and understanding were taken from us together with our ancient freedom) to convince any man sufficiently.

What, I pray, of all that we call ours, was left us free, if lyable to the power of tyrannicall Usurpers? Were not our persons under a grievous slavery, when we were forced to obey known Usurpers, and that first one, then another, then a third, and we knew not who the next day? To obey all these altogether contrary to our own liking, and in things as contrary to our liking as their authority, and as apparently contrary to our own good as to our liking, and as much contrary to our good

lawes as to all the other, was not this a miserable slavery to understanding ingenuous and honest Spirits? Though there were some of our ancient good lawes left in being, (the best comfort and solace in our misery) yet which of them did they scruple ever to break, if the breach of it might serve to carry on and compass their wicked ambitious designs? Was not our *Magna Charta* as much despised by them as one of the *Popes* Bulls? Their Rule was odious and detestable to all, but such as either were bribed with a share in their impious sacrilegges and ravenous pillagings, or else had their judgements miserably distorted with Schisme, or were much pleased with an indulgence to vent their wild dreams and hereticall blasphemous fancies, or over-awed with a base fear, or won with some baser hope of advantages, to prostitute their souls and consciences to a servile flattery of any men whosoever were in power, and to the impudent palliating of any thing whatsoever they did. Were not the persons of very many of our fellow Subjects, (if not our owne) and those not of the meaner rank, but of the nobler, and of great quality, under a captivity and slavery, when without any fault committed, any law transgressed, yea without any the least thought or intention of evill to any, (that ever yet was made to appear) they were without any processe of law in times of peace (if any times might be called such since our late divisions, yet if they might not, we were out of hope of ever seeing any other that might) they were (I say) seised upon by armed force, and carried away hither

ther and thither into remote places from their own dwellings, and clapt up in close and stinking prisons? yea there hath been a time wherein (as if the Land could not afford prisons enough) many of our fellow Subjects for noother crime but Loyalty, (which was looked upon by some men, as if it had been the sin against the Holy Ghost) were imprisoned on ship-board, and almost stifled under the hatches, with threatnings to be transported God knows whither: and all this to still the restless jealousies and feares of tyrannicall Usurpers, which are impossible to be ever stilled. For *the wicked are, like the troubled Sea, when it cannot rest.* Ila. 57. 20.

Were not our estates under a Captivity and slavery with Sequestrations? How legall, let our learned Lawyers determine, it is out of my sphere: but how rigorous, unjust, and causelesse, any common man might discern with half an eye: And with exactions illegall (I may boldly say that) when our Lords and masters not only by the consent and gift of our Representatives in *Parliament*, (whom we found free enough to give, and a great injurie hath been done to some of them, if some did not share also deeply in those free givings) but without their consents, yea without any formality or shew of it, imposed and levied taxes from us by their own arbitrary power, and yet (though the meanest Subject knew this to be contrary to our lawfull rights and liberties, yea and though the whole *Nation* had bound themselves with a Protestation to maintain and defend with their lives, powers and estates such lawfull rights and liberties) for all this, did we not  
buckle

buckle (for fear of something worse) to submit unto such arbitrary power as very slaves? And truly this was no great wonder. For we had seen our very Representatives in *Parliament*, the *Asylum* and *Sanctuarie* of our *English Liberties* (which never before was so boldly violated since it first had a being) we had seen our Representatives (I say) even those whom we most highly honoured of them, and who indeed were most worthy of high honour (but, God forgive us, we had before too much idolized them as *Demi-gods, not men*, to the undoing of them and our selves, and more then our selves, our late *gracious Sovereign*) we had seen them used as captives, and slaves, and forcibly carried away by a base-born insolent fellow (who in his name, *Pride*, bare the abstract of his disposition) and detained as Prisoners, and excluded from a discharge of their trust, and ever since secluded from any return thereto, that there might be none left to hinder the full perfecting of our destruction, and slavery. Were we not then under an open slavery, when the very sanctuary of all our Liberties was violated, and our Representatives were thrust out of their Sanctuary, and could not make good neither our Liberties nor their own? And what (I beseech you) have all our *Parliaments* ever since been, untill now, but *magni nominis umbra*? Now by the great mercy of God to this *poor Nation* they have indeed recovered their antient venerableness in this present one, which is full and free, not only free from without from military force and awe, but free within (which is the best freedome) from the bias of



of all factions and passions. But what have they been untill now for the most part, but either a company of men sprung out of the earth, without any voice of our election to impower them, or if chosen by us, then picked and cull'd, taken in and shut out at the pleasure of our great Lords and Masters: yea and those which remained have been but as honourable prisoners in a kind of *libera custodia*, to frame their votes or forbear them, according to the pleasure and designs of the sword men. What other considerable use hath been made of them, but to improve their votes as the fairest way, to juggle or conjure monies out of our purses without noyse or tumult.

But if ye would see a lively picture of our slavery, call to mind that sorry se-baptizing Conventicle, which we knew not what to call, till upon mature deliberation they resolved to stile themselves a *Parliament*. Though there were amongst them some wise and worthy men, who (I believe) much against their own judgments and likings went in amongst them, no otherwise then some peaceable men may step in amongst those that are making a fray, to prevent the mischief which other wise would be greater: so they were content to sit amongst them, lest the ignorance and hair-brained violence of some bold *Phanatiques* should have thrown the *Nation* at one cast into utter confusion: yet set aside some few such, what did that assembly consist of, but a company of mechanical, unqualified persons, inconsiderable for extraction, inconsiderable for education, inconsiderable for estates, in-

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considerable

considerable for wisdom or experience of affairs, and considerable for nothing else, but *pride, faction, violence, hypocrisie*, and an unparallel'd boldness, ready to adventure upon a business so openly destructive to their own and to the whole Nations fundamentall liberties? And yet these men began a Precedent of the greatest danger that ever was, to have overthrown for ever the whole Nations right of election, and the true foundation of that *Parliamentary* power which resides in the *House of Commons* (which we hope will not be forgotten by that honourable House at their better leisure, as the greatest grievance which the *English Subjects* ever suffered, or can suffer in their liberties) and these men took upon them an authority to make Laws to bind us, and to alter matters settled both in Church and State (with such wisdom as made them ridiculous to all men almost of common sense) and to do one thing greater then all the rest, to transfer the *supream Authority* over us unto that murderous *Usurper*, who doubtlesse had plotted all this pageant for the same purpose, to hide his ambitious usurpation under some vayle, though never so thin a Cobweb. What were we then, I pray, whilst all these things were doing, and quietly done without any struggling, if we were not slaves? Surely the *ancient, noble, heroick, free spirit of the English* was retyred, like the sap of trees in the winter, into the ground, which now of late began to shoot up again as upon the return of a spring. For indeed we had forsaken God and highly provoked him, and he had forsaken us, and taken away from us as well our Spirits, as all probable means

means of recovery, and in contempt of us suffered such base men to ride over our heads.

But if this be not enough to convince us, that our persons, estates, and lawes too were under a slavery, I wish that ye could meet withall or would find out and ask some of our brethren and fellow-subjects who were bought and sold as slaves, (and that which was their lot might have passed by that example to have become ours as well as theirs-) ask them what was their condition: but God knows now into what remote *Ilands* I send you to ask them, for I know it not my self. Ah! was there ever the like heard amongst Christians? That a Christian and free-born person should be bought and sold against his will by another Christian, and conveyed against his will he knowes not whither? Though it be ordinary with the *Turks* to buy and sell slaves, as commonly as we buy Cattell, yet to a free-born *Musulman* (as they call them) of their own profession, I think (if I be not mistaken) that they offer not so vile an indignity.

But were not our lives also brought under a miserable slavery by that new invention which was consecrated with the blood of our late *gracious Sovereign*? He like a *noble Prince* chose rather to become his peoples *Martyr*, then that such a Monster (if either his power or his death could have hindered it) should be brought in to devour his people. For he foresaw, that it must be fed ever and anon with sacrifices of some most noble or loyal blood, as it hath been hitherto ever since & ye all know what I mean; it is the pretended *High*

*Court of Justice*, the only sure trap to insnare those whom our great Lords had destinated to death, yet the consciences of indifferent Jury's (they feared) would rescue and save: yea (if it had been possible) we must not have kept our reason or sense free from slavery: we must have believed the highest Tyranny to have been a glorious liberty (as they were pleased to call it) the disorderly confusion of all things in the Church, to be a blessed Reformation, the insupportable oppressions of the *Nation* to be a relaxation of our burthens, the overspreading of heresies and blasphemies to be glorious rayes of new light, yea an universall toleration to be the usher unto Christs Monarchy, and a way to prepare him such a Throne in this World, as he never yet had, nor (we believe) ever will: we must have believed (I say) all these things in despite of our reason and sense, or at least have heard all this most impudently affirmed in publick, with such patient ears and countenances as might carry a shew of believing it, which alone were a slavery ill enough to an ingenuous and free Spirit.

But some perhaps will say, Yea but all this time we enjoyed a free liberty of Conscience, which is worth all: many tender conscientious persons were free from those heavy burthens under which they once groaned: were we not happy in that in comparison of which all other things are but trifles?

O that it had been so! that we might but have enjoyed that liberty without fiercer persecutions then told

fold, then those whereof men heretofore made so  
loud complaints. Let other men (if they please)  
Blind their eyes, whose consciences perhaps are more  
tender on the left side, then on the right, and have  
little feeling on that side: but for my part, if God  
hath given me any sense in my conscience (which  
I am assured of) or any eyes of reason in my under-  
standing, there never was in my memory a time of  
so little Liberty for consciences really and knowing-  
ly tender. That indeed hath been the thing very  
much cryed up: the very glorious Name of it hath  
been the *Trojan horse* to bring in most of our mis-  
chiefs indiscoverably; God forbid it should continue  
or renew them. I hope after so much experience of  
our times, there will by the prudence of authority,  
be a distinction made betwixt Consciences know-  
ingly tender, and really or simply tender, and con-  
sciences superciliously, frowardly, wilfully, humo-  
rously, or politickly tender. The devill may be in  
the will, when he pretends to the conscience as his  
Sanctuary, (as a late Divine, as great a patron to  
tender consciences as any man, hath excellently dis-  
covered:) There are Consciences without doubt  
knowingly, really, sincerely tender. If any be such,  
or have but the likely face of such, who would not  
favour them? Whosoever seeks to keep a good Con-  
science himself, is alwaies charitably tender of ano-  
ther mans. But there hath appeared so little of this  
tendernesse towards others, in many of those who  
have enjoyed their own Liberties freely to do and  
speak whatsoever they pleased, that I have not  
said it without cause, There never was a time of

*J. m. a. Bur-*  
*roughs French*  
*cum cap. 6.*  
*throughout.*

putting harder and heavier yokes upon consciences really tender, then this time of our late Captivity. What snares have been cunningly laid for them by Oaths, Protestations, Covenants, Engagements &c? So much Sugar of fair words have been in them, and the Rats-bane so hidden and unsuspected, that very few could discern it, untill it afterwards appeared in the working: yet some men of tender consciences, who either saw more, or had stronger suspicions, were without all pity stripped of their estates and livelyhood, because they could not in conscience swallow such baits roundly. Such men, though of great knowledge and unblamable conversation, were not allowed by the charity of our times to have any consciences at all, but only stomachs: So there was no liberty afforded to their consciences, taking it first, as granted that they had none: Besides what reall contrarieties have there been (or at least so seeming, that it might trouble the heads and consciences of wise and pious men to reconcile them) in Protestations and Covenants imposed at one time, and at another time Engagements and Subscriptions, if not plainly contrary one to another, yet at least not well agreeing with the truest sense and honestest meaning of our former oaths of Allegiance? At one time they binde us in a Solemn Covenant under an high penalty or dread of refusing it; at another time, having shamefully broken it themselves, they sleight it as an old Almanack out of date, and draw on others to break it, and are much displeased with those who could not openly brook such a foul wounding of their Conscience. Were these then



then the times, that made so good provision for the libertie of tender consciences? What should I speak now of the many solemn daies of Thanksgivings imposed upon us for such victories wherein the blood of our dear brethren was shed in a Civill warre? How hard was it for such peaceable Spirits, who never joyed in this war, nor durst ever sound a Trumpet to kindle or foment it, to satisfie themselves in conscience, that God would accept such prayles, or that they should therein offer any other but the sacrifice of fools? For they could not find the least example or warrant in Scripture for solemn thanksgivings upon such sad occasions; and might not be ignorant, that the very Heathens out of common principles of reason and humanity had forborn their triumphs and solemnities of thanksgivings for the victories of civill wars: I cannot but remember one of those thanksgiving daies above all the rest, I can not now in particular call to mind for what success it was, only I am certain it was in the year 1650. There was then a day of thanksgiving appointed to be kept upon that fatall black day in *January*, wherein two years before they had barbarously murdered our late *gracious Sovereign*. Could not those men foresee? nay, did they not foresee it well enough, how infinitely grievous it would be to the greatest part of this *Nation*, to put on a face of joy upon such a day which could not but renew the remembrance of their deepest sorrows? What was this but to give gall and vinegar to drink (as the *Jews* once to our Saviour in his passion) unto many thousand crucified hearts? Yet

Levit. 23. 14.  
28, 29.

Allerman Ry-  
nardson then  
Lord Mayor.

as if it had been a pleasure to them to triumph in their horrid sin, or as if they had been ambitious to trample upon the consciences of an heart-broken people, they appointed even this day for a solemn Thanksgiving, which were more fit to be kept for ever by this Nation as a day of publick humiliation (as strictly as the day of atonement by the *Jews*) both to appease the wrath of God for that horrid sin, and to keep the memory thereof in detestation unto all generations. Was this one of their tender respects to the consciences of men? But may not that great City afford us an instance of the liberty that was indulged to tender consciences? an instance, which they and the whole *Nation* could not but take notice of, when their most honourable Officer, the *Lord Mayor* was not only put out of his place (this had been fair and gentle) but imprisoned and (if I mistake not) deeply fined (at least indammaged many thousand pounds) and all this for what? Only because having used the best advice of Divines (as I have heard) to inform his conscience, and being willing to yeild to any thing but the deep violation of that with perjury; he could not comply with a command of theirs, being bound by a former oath which he conceived irreconcilable with their command: But it began now at length to appear more clearly, what liberty of conscience men really conscientious were likely to find under those hypocritical grand Patrons (as they pretended) of such Liberty. For (as if they had not yet sufficiently tyrannized over the consciences of this poor *Nation*, nor involved it yet enough in the

guilt

guilt of execrable perjury ) they had at last contrived the most cursed snare , that could be found in the bottome of Hell , An oath of abjuration against the whole line of the *Royall stemme* , with a design to leave no person in Office, either in Church or state or Armies, that should refuse it. But here God was pleased to take off these *Fehn's* chariot wheelles, and out of his compassion to the good Consciences remaining in this Nation ( wherein yet he had reserved to himself many seven thousands ) to bound the proud waves of their ambitious tyranny. For otherwise, what would this cursed oath have served for? It would have been a pound, into which they would have driven and pended up all the good consciences in this Nation ( as the *Papists* once by a plot drew in and shut up the most noble *Protestants* within the *Gates of Paris* , ) and then ( if it had been feisible ) would have made a general massacre of all the good Consciences in this *Kingdome* so pent up ; a thing worse then the *Parisian Massacre*. Thus was it and no better for libertie of conscience. There were yokes imposed, and worse prepared for the consciences of this *Nation* , that might not only gall, but even stupifie and dead them altogether. And how could it be otherwise expected ? Was it probable that men who had stupified their own consciences by *Perjuries*, *Regicide*, and *Sacriledge* should ever be tender over the consciences of others, who had a perfect abhorrence of all such horrid sins, howsoever they might seem to favour the hypocritical tender-nesse of other consciences, who scrupled not at all a compliance with, and a flattery of them in all these?

But there will come a day, wherein it will appear (though loyalty and a good conscience have been judged by some as incompatible) it will appear (I say) either in this world, or in the day of the revelation of Christs righteous judgment, that tender-  
 nesse of conscience is not a grace peculiar to those only, who have Pharisaically claimed to themselves the name of the Godly party, and impropriated the Honour of tender consciences to their party; who nevertheless after they had strained at gnats could easily swallow Camels, who, to satiate their own ambition and covetousness, could tack about to sail with every wind, and to enrich themselves, could smoothly swallow the *Kings inheritance*, the Churches patrimony, or any fish that came to net: but belongs to those as much or rather, who have with patience suffered reproaches, persecutions, imprisonments, who have taken joyfully the spoiling of their goods, and were prepared (if it had been the pleasure of God) to suffer further, rather then desert the principles of the *Protestant Religion*, and betray their own consciences, in betraying it, who have been well content to live in mean conditions, with contempt, yea perhaps would rather have begged their bread from door to door, then have rouch'd those accursed things, wherewith so many tender conscienced men (forsooth) have so warmly feather'd their nests.

Some men perhaps will be ready to think and say, that I have spoken all this out of some distempred passion of anger, spleen, or revenge: God forbids that I should bring such unhallowed passions in-

to this holy place. I tremble to do it, whatsoever others uncharitably may think or say. I have deliberately calmed my spirit, and have spoken (if mine own heart deceive me not) with a Spirit free from anger, envy, hatred, or revengefull desire towards any man living: Nor do I desire to exasperate your Spirits, which hear me, against any of those who unwittingly or wittingly have been the Authors of leading us into this miserable slavery, no not against those who have striven to continue and increase it upon us. If your spirits be enraged against men (though for their wickedness) how will ye come nigh the Altar of incense to offer up to God your praises? Let them repent and find mercy with God to forgive them, yea, if it seem good, let them find more mercy with men then they have shewed, or were ready to shew to others. My true aim (as I told you at first) was only to shew clearly, that for our high provoking sins, the God of heaven had given up this our *Zion* unto a miserable slavery: this was to lay a ground that might make us more sensible of his wonderful mercy in turning again the captivity of our *Zion*: and this to raise up our hearts unto a more lively, higher, and chearfuller praying of God for so great, invaluable and wonderfull mercy. It was, that when I had prepared you to entertain a deeper sense of this great mercy of God, by looking back upon the misery out of which it hath delivered you, ye might this day bring an *Abels* offering, the fat and best of your flock, the very marrow of all your affections to be offered to God in a sacrifice of thanks-

giving. Thus have I done with the first thing, which I would have you to consider this day ; the next is to consider how clearly the hand of God hath appeared in turning again our captivity, and how strangely and unexpectedly he hath wrought it.

*Applic. 2.*

Who but the great and our gracious God hath wrought all this for us ? Instruments he hath used divers, and of diverse sorts : but who but himself hath raised them up ? who but he hath managed and overruled them ? who but he hath blessed them with so admirable a success ? Some may be reckoned as his instruments to bring about this work, which were so strange and unhandsome tools for such a business, that none but so great and so wise a workman as God could have made use of such bad tools in so good a work. For it seems clear enough to my observation ( which some others perhaps will take no notice of ) that God hath made use of many instruments, who never intended in the least to serve him this way, but sought more than any men on earth to have withheld this mercy from us, which ( if we look into it ) doth as clearly manifest the hand of God, as any thing else in the whole *series* of this merciful providence : I will glance briefly at some preceding Providences which brought onwards this mercy insensibly and indiscoverably to us, that now in the up-shot are fit to be taken notice of, that we may the more admire the overruling power and wisdom of God, and praise him accordingly.

When that first usurper by extraordinary successes and deep policies had settled himself with some kind of quietness in a power of dominion over us,  
far



far higher then any of our Kings ever exercised, and had provided (at least in his own thoughts and aimes) for continuing it successively in his own line, then God was pleased (before he had spun out the whole webbe of his *Machiavilian* policies) to call him to an account in another world: His very *Effigies* kept a state over us, for a while, as if it had been like *Alexanders* tent, and as if this poor spirited *Nation* should stoop to a painted puppet: His son succeeds, a person more innocent, less ambitious, whose danger arose more from the envy of his Fathers friends, then from the hatred of his enemies: This man, though a young *Phaeton*, holds the reins more gently, especially upon the heads of the *Royal party*, having carryed before a shew of approving the Kings right, more then his Fathers doings. His common saying (as is reported) was, that they did him no harm, nor would he doe them any; if they would not disquiet him, he would not disquiet them: This made that party which was truest and fiercest for the Kings interest, to champless upon the bridle, and not to foam so much at the mouth against him, as against his bloody hated Father, who still encreased his hatred more and more, by drawing so often again and again much honoured and beloved blood. This man begins in a way gratefull enough to the people, and by some popular flatterers had prepared himself a way to get the reputation (which before he had not) of a sober pious man, and of singular parts. He calls together a *Parliament* fairly to be elected according to Law: and without any other defect, save in the Authority

Authority of the Caller, and absence of the Lords (those great ones I confesse) a *Parliament* meets consulting for the most part of worthy and well temperd Gentlemen. These finding him very tractable, and ready to comply with them in things reasonable for their publick good (or as some say ready to comply with the dearly beloved interest of a potent party) were inclinable enough (as was supposed) to have complied with his interest, and to have setled him in his usurped power, out of an earnest (though preposterous desire) to bring this *Nation* unto a speedy settlement. Had this design succeeded (if any such there were) it had been as great a block in the way to hinder us from the happy mercy we enjoy this day, as any that yet was ever laid, and if this block had been laid it had been done by many that were sure the Kings friends, and very few his Enemies. The people generally were so fond of settlement, that they would have been quieted with any settlement, though strangely botched up, if it had but carryed the name of being made by a *Parliament*. But God in his good providence keeps off this great block to the Kings Interest, when it was, as some have supposed, ready to be laid, keeps it off, I say, not by the acting of any of his friends but of his worst enemies: if his friends were laying it, God stirs up his enemies (I mean by the Devil, as he stirred up *David* to number the people) to hinder the laying of so great a block in the way of his *Majesties* just right and interest. For the insolent and ambitious great commanders (none forwarder then those who were nearlyest tryed to him in alliance, and in probability should

(should have been fittest to him) they (to their own unforeseen ruine) put down Richard suddenly, who resigns as quietly, as if he had been willing to part with a stolen prey, and in likelihood (if he had been able to do it) would have rather chosen to restore it to the true owner, than to have it to ignominiously rent from him by other strong Thieves. Here began the first division of the Army to beat their blows one against another, & to weaken their Victorian power: A step this was, though never intended (save only by divine providence) towards that great mercy of God which we have now received.

The insolent and ambitious officers (though it is likely the Devil even then had whispered into some or other of their ears, *quanta brevis vita*; I will give thee all these things, if thou wilt worship me) yet were ashamed or afraid at the first blush to own openly the mark at which doubtless one or more of them shot; To vault their ambition for a while, they call together a remnant and the most guilty part of the long late Parliament, a party who before were not very gratefull, but since that time hath become very contemptible and odious to the people, by an abusive Nick-name of the *Rump*. And now these Commanders cry up the *Good old Cause*, (which themselves sure never intended to suffer to grow much older) but this cheat was now grown too stale to deceive the people any longer, this old bawle was even laughed by them, who had committed much fornication with her in her youth and flourishing age. Yet this ungratefull piece of Parliament did the *Common* some service, in represent-

Mat. 4. 9

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sing a little the insolence of the souldiery, in bringing them to an acknowledgement (at least formall) of a superiour power, and keeping up some face of a civil Government. But when the ambitious plots of some Commanders were grown riper, and the Souldiery were moulded to bear no restraints of their insolency, though never so gentle and reasonable, or fearing lest these old beaten Politicians should out-wit them, and bring their power very low, then with-out any good manners at all they cast out their late acknowledged Masters violently out of doors; yet their dissolution was not without a second rupture and breach in the Army greater then the former; another step tending to break the designs and weaken the power of his *Majesties* enemies, and to make his way of entrance into his right more easy. Now springs up a new Name and thing of Tyranny like *Daniels* fourth beast with iron teeth, more dreadfull and terrible then all the former, a meer armed power calling it self a *Committee of Safety*, assuming to it self an authority to repeal Acts of Parliament, to exact monies by their own decrees, and to contrive a new Government (yet unborn) and likely to be stifled by so many unskilfull and disagreeing Midwives in the birth) which yet the *Nation* must wait for, and though it proved but a Moon-calf, must own as sent them by Jesus Christ. For nothing but his *Monarchie* was now boldly cryed up. How did the whole *Nation* tremble in expectation of the birth of this Monster? and now they began to lift up their hands and hearts unto God more earnestly then ever for

Daniel 7. 7.

a deliverer, and to turn their eyes more then ever towards him whom they longed to see, For they could hope of no other deliverer as sent of God, but only his gracious *Majesty* whom God hath now sent: they then ( who had been blindest before ) could easily foresee that this dreadfull Monster would not only fleece them or flea off their skins, but break all the ribs of our ancient Government, that were yet left untouched, God raiseth up in his Providence a power to prevent the birth of this *Monster*, and yet that power no friend at all to his *Majesties* interest, yet by a third division in the Army they gave a fair way to give it a neerer access: These late extruded Members being much and justly intraged with a second extrusion more disgracefull then their first, rise up with all their power and policies ( being considerable for both ) against their old Servants and new Masters, and to strengthen themselves sollicite (as was reported commonly ) or command *General Monck* to March out of *Scotland* with his Army to their aid; He ( good man ) whether willing to serve any Masters against so dreadfull a Monster, or having then an honest intent in his bosome to serve his bleeding Native Country more then them, obeys and marches. Here begins the Comedy, unto which all the foresaid tragicall Actors and actions ( by a strange providence of God ) have been the Prologue (or at least have built the stage for it) which now God hath closed with so happy an Epilogue, that this overjoyed *Nation* have made the Eccho of their *plaudite* ring all the World over. Had not these tragicall quarrels preceded, how

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was

Job. 5. 12. 13.

was it probable that ever yet for many years such a Comical of rejoycing should have befallen this poor *Nation*. But who wrought all this while for us in this strange way? Was it not he, who, as *Job* saith, *disappointeth the devises of the crafty, soe that their hands cannot perform their enterprize, who taketh the wise in their craftinesse*; and the Counsell of the froward is carryed head-long.

Exod. 32. 34.

Now God was pleased to have the Comedie begin. *General Monk* according to order begins his march. How extraordinarily doth God by his providence smooth all the way for him, not to meet with any the least rub! as if God had said to him as he did once to *Moses*, *Behold mine Angell shall go before thee*. An Army that lay to oppose him much stronger and better appointed then his (as knowing men report) melts away as dew before the sun (we know not how) and are scattered like stubble before the wind. He cometh without the least opposition unto our great *Metropolis* the famous *City*, with the greatest Courtings, Acclamations, and honourable Addresses from the whole *Nation* that ever were made to any Subject. But yet still that great *City* and this poor *Nation* with her (who could not but run one and the same fortune) stood wavering betwixt hope and fear, like a poor Prisoner at the Bar, when the lips of the *Judge* are opening to pronounce his sentence, but he knows not whether of life or death. His first actings strike such a deep impression of fear and horreur into the *City*, and the whole *Nation*; that of all the sad daies that ever



ever befell us since these unhappy divisions, that (except one) was the saddest. How were the faces of men overspread with paleness? their countenances dejected? and had not anger and indignation against the Actor (but especially against the Authors commanding such a despitefull act) kept up their Spirits with some fire in them, they were almost extinct with cold despair. But this sure was but to give us a taste of what odious commands proceed from tyrannicall Usurpers, and what more might be expected, unless we would lay down our necks gently to take their yoke? or if there were any thing of his own in it, it was but his policy to indear his future actings, and make them more renowned and acceptable. For he speedily comforts the disconsolate City by a sweet and cordial closing with their honest designs and interest: he gives us within a few daies a beginning of life by restoring some sounder and skilfuller *Physicians* to heal the wounds of this *Nation*, which the other either could not, or would not doe: By these the lower story of our ancient form of Government (if I may call it so without offense) is in a short time fairly and completely built up, then the upper story (whose materials lay all ready framed) is quickly added, and by this the Head-stone is brought forth with shoutings, and we all cry, *Grace, Grace unto it*. But who hath wrought all these things for us, but that great and Gracious God of Heaven *who only doth marvelous things?*

*Zechar. 4. 7.*

For if there were a spark of such a Noble, honest loyall intention lying hid in the breast of the present

*General* ( as some suppose ) ever since he was captivated in the service of his old *Royal Master*, and necessitated after that to serve other Masters, yet who but the God of heaven could have preserved that spark, when so many temptations like mountains of wet ashes have been since then cast upon it to quench it ? Or who but the wise God could have endued him with so much wisdom to keep it alive undiscovered ? which if it had been, they who could not perhaps have quenched it, would have quenched him and his power of bringing it thus to light ? Or howsoever, who but the great disposer of all things did put into his hand so happy an opportunity to make use of it ? Who but God by such a spark could have kindled such flames of joy all over this *Kingdome* ? So that we must at length give the whole praise of bringing back the Captivity of our *Zion* ; to the Lord and him alone. Yet this doth not lase us so strait, but that we may pay some due thanks to all whom God hath been pleased to use as his instruments in this work ; and we will thank them this day. We will thank our *Noble General* for his tender care over the Protestant Religion, for which he might easily see a grave prepared by the aspiring bold *Phanatiques*, we will thank him for his compassion to his bleeding Country ready to draw the last breath of her dying liberty, for his loyalty to our *Gracious Sovereign*, and for his sweet, amicable, ingenuous closing with that *Royal City*, when she fate in the dust, and (if reports carry truth) was threatned to be turned into ashes : we will thank the worthy Citizens for their wisdom, loyalty, stout  
courage

courage, and readines to expend their treasure, yea (if need had been ) their blood to redeem themselves and the rest of this poor *Nation* from slavery: we will thank all those noble Lords and Gentlemen throughout the *Nation*, who unanimously preferred their honest, just, rational and stout Declarations or addresses, adventuring their persons to Prison, and their Estates to Sequestrations ( for under that Tyranny we were then, that the sayrest desires of being healed were judged the most pestilential disease ) rather then sit still in silence and see their Countries libertie and happiness perish. We will thank our Representatives in the *Honourable house of Commons*, and all the *Noble Peers* for all that hath been done by them to turn again speedily the captivity of our *Zion*: but we will blest, we will blest, we will blest thee, O Lord, and sing prayes to thy name, who hast wrought in them all, and by them all, and more then all, *to turn again the Captivity of our Zion.*

And truly here I have a good mind to speak a seasonable word to our old Masters, and their soothing flatterers, which have boasted a long time so highly of their succesfull Providences, wherewith God owned ( as they were pleased to say ) the justness of their cause, and the righteousness of their wayes, as if God in these last daies had given men a new rule to measure the righteousness of actions by the Events and successes of Providence, as if these being cast into the scale should outweigh the clear rule of his sacred Word. Harken unto me a little calmly and patiently ye pleaders and boasters of such former Providences ( for with mine own ears I have heard this

argument pressed by some who are leaders of Disei- after them, and reckoned themselves pastours of Churches ) hearken unto me ( I say ) For I desire to confronty our Providences so long boasted of, with this late providence wherein the hand of God hath so manifestly appeared : I am not now half so angry with your deceitfull argument from Providences, as I formerly have been. For though I still think, as I alwayes thought, that it fought against the honour of God in his revealed truth, yet I am now perswaded, that it hath wrought much for the good of this *Nation* : For God hath been provoked thereby to vindicate the honour of his Providences the sooner. Surely it was not this *Nations* unfeigned repentance of their sins, but rather your high provocations of his justice, that hath inclined God to shew this great mercy to us in way of punishment to you. Though that great God saw our repentance to be too little, yet he saw the gloryings of those whom he had used as his rod to be too high, and therefore for his own names sake, not for ours, he hath wrought this strange turn, to vindicate his own honour in his providences, that he might no longer be thought a patronizer of cursed villanies vayed with Hypocrisie.

I will allow you the glory of all those successfull providences to the height, as they have been set forth to the world in any declaration, with all the painted beauty of admirableness which hath been put upon them, exceeding ( I fear ) sometimes the naked truth. I will allow all things that have fallen out successfully that way, either for great victories, or strange discoveries of dangerous plots, to have been the providences

vidences of Gods blessing them in their way (if it may be called a blessing) to prosper in sinfull waies and run on unpunished ) yea further I will acknowledge them all to have been just providences, and lye as low as the dust under the hand of God in them ( I mean just providences of his judgment to punish a sinful, ingrateful, murmuring, perverse, rebellious, riotous, hypocriticall, athiesticall *Nation* , altogether unworthy of the great blessings of God so freely bestowed and so long continued to them ) to punish them ( I say ) and lash them with a scourge made of their own sins, pride, wantonness, blindness, factions, zeal, cunning, hypocrisie, &c. They were I confess providences of judgment, wherein the hand of God is to be owned as visible. But as works of judgment are *alienum opus*, a kind of strange work to God, not so pleasing to his infinitely gracious Nature ( like the drudgery work of his household to scour away the filth thereof ) so God usually puts that work upon wicked men to do : yet so just a Master is God , that he will pay even those servants which do his drudgery work a reward and wages that will best please them. *Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon* ( saith God ) caused his Army to serve a great service against *Tyrus* : every head was made bald , and every shoulder was peeled , yet had he no wages, nor his Army for *Tyrus* , for the service that he served against it. Therefore (saith the Lord God ) Behold, I will give the Land of *Egypt* unto *Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon* , and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoyle, and take her prey, and it shall be the wages for his Army. Thus the just God takes care to pay wages to the wickedest ones that serve him in the executing.

10. 18. 21.

Ez. k. 19. 18. 19.

Mat. 6. 5.

1 King. 12.

2 King. 10. 30.

tion of his just judgment, and our Saviour tells us that even Hypocrites *habent mercedem suam*, They have their reward. But to execute such providences of his judgment God usually imployes only wicked men and their wickedness. A Jeroboam is the fittest to punish the sins of a *Solomon* and the *Israelites*, as wicked a wretch as ever lived, who had lived in banishment for his rebellious spirit in the dayes of *Solomon*, whose Atheistical policy to secure himself, made no bones to overthrow all the true worship of God in *Israel*, under an hypocritical pretence of easing the people, who (contrary to Gods express order) made Priests of the lowest of the people, even any whose prostitute baseness would best serve his designs: and yet he had his reward, to reign in *Israel* and dye in peace, and his Son after him for a while. But after that God had payed him his full wages for his first service, he made haste to pay him in his Posterity the due wages also for his horrible sins. So God to execute his judgments upon *Ahab*, causeth a furious bloody *Jehu* to be anointed, as fit an instrument as any, who must have the heads of 70 Children of the King brought him for a morning present; yet God gave him his reward, yea expressly (and as it were a bill of his hand for the sure payment of it) *Because thou hast done well in executing that which is right in mine eyes, and hast done unso the house of Ahab according to all that was in mine heart, thy Children to the fourth Generation shall sit upon the Throne of Israel*: yet so far was God from approving *Jehu* and his doings (save only as he served him in the execution of



of a judicial sentence ) that he threatned afterwards his vengeance upon his posterity, for that very thing so far as it was the wicked act of *Jehu*: *Yet a little while and I will avenge the blood of Jehu: I will reel upon the house of Jehu*: : They will, I hope hereafter glory no more in their wonderfull successes and glorious fruits reaped by them. They were the Wages which God payed to wicked men for executing a just judgment upon a sinfull, perverse, rebellious Nation, not Arguments that God owned the righteousness of their cause. For our Gracious God being impatient, that his dark providences should be abused to the impeachment of his sacred truth clearly revealed, hath put an end to all such vain gloryings. He hath defeated all those foregoing providences of judgment, by a clear glorious providence of his mercy in bringing back our *Royall Sovereign* wonderfully to his throne in peace, and thereby very strangely and unexpectedly turning again the Captivity of our *Zion*. And this is that which I would have you all stand a while gazing upon, to compare this providence, with those formerly of judgment, wherein they boasted so much of the visible hand of God, that ye may see how clearly the hand of divine mercy is to be seen in this providence more then in the other. There were many steps laid for this providence to advance it self upon ( as before I have hinted ) by wicked men, but all against their wills, and utterly contrary to their purposes.

For had not the great Commanders of the Army, driving on ambitious and perfidious plots of their  
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own, pulled *Richard* out of the saddle, and then by their divisions and heart-burnings beginning there, after that by an hypocriticall reviving of the good old Cause, and then by quarrelling quickly their old and new Masters, and thrusting them out of doors, and they again to revenge themselves calling up *General Monk* by an act of their own, had not they (I say) layed some foundations for this great mercy which God hath now wrought for us, I believe it might have been much further from us at this day. Now wherein is the hand of divine providence and mercy more cleerly seen, then when he causeth the greatest enemies in the world unto that work which he intendeth, to build the stage unawares and besides their intentions, upon which he will bring in then other Actors, that shall serve him wittingly and freely in his own way to do his own work? Wherein, I say, doth the hand of God more clearly appear, then in taking the wise in their own craftiness, and in carrying the counsailes of the froward headlong? Thus far the hand of God appeareth wonderfull in this mercy, in that he wrought by its greatest enemies to open a gate, at which he might bring in his worthy instruments to doe his work. And when God once begins to imploy them, we shall not find them, any of them to tread the least step awry out of Gods way to bring it about, but to do all in the way of religion, of reason, and of the known Lawes of our *Nation*; which is a thing worth the taking notice of, and gives us a fairer prospect of the gracious hand of God in this his wonderfull work of mercy: For to begin with the grand instrument

instrument whom it pleased God to use in this business, the wise and noble *Generall Monk* : Though many have been forward enough to cast their aspersions upon him ( who themselves have been more perfidious then any *Jew* ) as if he had played fast and loose in the trust which he had taken upon him, and betrayed his Masters : If all whatsoever they say tending that way be not utterly false both for matter and form, yet I think it may be made as clear as the Sun that the *Generall*, in that which he hath done, complying with his dear Countries, and our gracious *Soveraigns interest*, ( and indeed with the interest of the *Protestant Religions* safety ) hath done no more then what the conscience of a true, upright Christian and of a sincere honest man strictly bound him to. For suppose his Commission received from them ( as some say ) was expired, then his tye of relation was at an end, and there is no shew at all of any breach of trust : but suppose it were not, yet the odiousness of their last command which he punctually obeyed, and an utter abhorrence to obey any more such, or worse, ( which he had reason enough to expect would be put upon him ) was enough to discharge him from obeying such wicked Masters any further. Besides, what bond is so strict as that wherein every honest man is tyed to his native Country, unless it be our bond to the great God, who is indeed above all ? Now he being ( as we all conceive or ought in reason and charity to conceive ) a wise and honest Gentleman, could not but see then, that his Country lay a bleeding, and that the *Protestant Religion* was at the very pits brink,

or else his eye-sight differed from almost all the wise, noble, and honest Gentlemen and others in the *Nation*: Though I should say nothing now of his ancient bond of loyalty and fidelity to his just and *lawfull Sovereign*, a far stricter bond then any wherein he could be tyed to his then supposed Masters: yet should any wise or conscientious Christian prefer the tye of abond ( if any such there were ) unto a few men, who had no lawful power to bind him (but suppose it never so lawful ) before his bond to his dear Country , the true Religion established in it, to his undoubted *lawful Sovereign (though an exile)*, and before the *general* cryes of a whole *Nation* in extream distress, holding up their hands all to him, to implore his help? I do not speak all or any of this, barely aiming at the justification of the *Noble General*, I am not so low spirited in my ministrations to God to look no higher then men. He I know needs not my justification, he hath the approbation of the whole *Nation* to justifie him, yea and ( I doubt not ) something beyond all that, a good testimony from his own conscience. May he find a sutable reward both on earth and in heaven for that good service done to *Religion* and his Countrey: but my aim in this is higher, to clear Gods providence in the choyce of his instruments, and in his guidance of them to walk in an even path, as he useth to doe when he will work a great work of mercy; It is to shew that when God was pleased to set his own actors upon the stage, there is not to be found in them the least departing from the path of Religion, reason, order and law, which undoubtedly are the wayes  
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of God. Next for the many addressees made by this *Nation* ( which were some great helps to the midwifery of this happy issue ) whether they were made to *General Monk*, the *Speaker of the House*, or the *City*, what were they but the dictates of Noble, wise religious, rational and peaceable men, seeking the best way imaginable, and the most orderly to heal a poor broken divided *Nation*? and though it were without all reason or conscience extremeill resentet, yet they were resolved rather to incurre the displeasure of some persons then powerfull and dreadfull, then to sit stil silently with a finger sealing their lips, and see their Countrey miserably shipwrackt? Next for the Resolutions of the *City* opposing with very great hazard to their Persons and Estates the illegal taxes, lest by their example they might lead on others to a cowardly betraying of their Countrey, what were they but the advised Counsels and well-grounded resolutions of wise and pious men, having aneye to the publick welfare of their Countrey? upon what else ran all the desires of the whole *Nation* but upon a full and free *Parliament* (which yet they sought not tumultuously, but peaceably and orderly) a thing sure very lawfull both before God and men for them to desire, seeing their reason and sense told them plainly, that for want of such an assembly our miseries and unsettledness did increase daily more and more, and that this only under God was the most likely means to heal and settle us?

Well, God in his mercies at last granted us our desires in an orderly way. Our elections have been fairly made according to our Laws. Our Parlia-

ment by the blessing of God, (consisting as of old of all her noble and worthy Members) are met in peace, and sit in all honourable freedome (which hath not been for many years) without the least awe of military force or popular tumults. They with great unanimity and inexpressible joy have called home our lawfull and just *Sovereign*, and he is come in with safety and peace (God be blessed for ever for it) to reign over us and rule according to our known and excellent Laws, to the extraordinary comfort and joy of the whole *Nation*. In all this whole series of providences here have been no tumults or uproars of vulgar unruly people, but the orderly motions of the most wise, sober, and noble: here hath been no confused noyse of axes and hammers about this building, no garments rolled in blood, no arms offensive or defensive, (but only in the way of suppression of a few desperate malecontents) no not so much as any factions, or sidings, or hot contests in counsels. All hath been carryed as if God had thought fit to shew himself to this *Nation*, as he did once to *Elijah*, in a soft still voice. We hear not so much as a Dog to move his tongue against it, or if any shall, he is worthy of a dogs death, though mercy may think fit to spare him. Here is, (O ye that used to boast of providences) here is a providence: ye that marvelled why the eyes of malignants (as they were most uncharitably called) were not opened with so many providences to see the justnes of your cause; Will not this open your eyes? Will not this justifie our gracious *Kings* right to his hereditary *Throne*? We truly that mea-  
sure



sure things not so much by providences which are various and unsearchable, but by principles and rules which are fixed and certainly known, are led by a more settled rule to acknowledge it by the laws of our *Nation* agreeable to the word of God, and contrived with excellent wisdom: yet we heartily praise God, that his hand hath so wonderfully appeared in this providence of mercy, to defeat all the old Arguments wherewith weak people formerly were blinded, and to make us and the whole world see, that it is he who hath brought our gracious *King* with so much honour and peace to his *Throne*, and he who hath turned again the *Captivity of our Zion*. And this is the second thing which I would have you consider, that it is the Lord, who hath apparently, wonderfully, and unexpectedly wrought this great work of mercy for us.

Now the last thing which I have to move you in, is, that you would not only rejoyce in this great work of mercy with a naturall or common joy, not only with your mouths filled with laughter, but with a more religious and spirituall rejoycing. Let your tongues be filled with singing: ye have had many dayes of the first rejoycing already so highly expressed, that never was the like (I think) seen in this *Nation*, nor the like cause. Though this be commendable so far as it expresseth your loyall affections to your *Sovereign*, yet in all this ye are but as empty vines bringing forth fruit to your selves. There is little or no fruit to God in all this. Now therefore shew your selves to be fruitfull vines bringing forth fruit to God: Let your hearts be tuned and your tongues

*Applic. 3.*

*Hosea 10. 1.*

Luke 1. 44.

tongues filled with singing forth due praifesto God:  
 And me thinks as *the babe sprang in the womb of Elizabeth*, when she heard the salutation of the mother of our Lord, so your hearts should spring up into your tongues to celebrate the praises of God with all that is within you, because our *gracious King* is come to salute this Land, and is arisen to us as *a Sun with healing in his wings meek*, to heal all the breaches of this Nation. I am very shy of applying any places of Scripture ( though but by way of meer allusion ) so as it might carry the least shew of flattery to men, or of blasphemy against Christ, yet the words of the Prophet *Zachary* are so fit for my purpose, that I think I may safely with a little change make use of some of them. *Rejoyce greatly, O Zion, shout O Daughter of Ferusalem &c. Rejoyce greatly O England, shout O thou great Metropolis of England: Behold thy King cometh unto thee: he is just and having salvation*, he brings temporall salvation with him: he is *lowly* and meek, admirably temper'd with the sweet graces of meekness, clemency, and royal forgiveness, he hath drawn a line of Royal and Christian vertues by the Copy of Christ his Saviour. But let your rejoycing be in the Lord and to the Lord. *O sing unto him a new song for he hath done marvellous things. Bless his name, shew forth his salvation from day to day.* But oh do not stain the Joy of this day with that which may give offence to the author of this mercy, or scandal to the pious consorts in your joy, or reflect with sorrow upon the King the object of your joy, or may cause sorrow to your selves hereafter. Should ye expresse the  
 publick

Zachar. 9. 9.

Psal. 98. 1.

Psal. 96. 2.

publick joy of Christians to the publick disgrace both of your joy and of your Christianity? Are those things seemingly on the Solemn days, which are neither seemly nor lawfull on any days? Take the Cup of Salvation and give thanks to the name of the Lord: but do not take those Cups which have proved Cups of damnation to thousands. *Be not drunk with wine wherein is excess, but be filled with the Spirit, speaking to yourselves in Psalms and Hymns and spirituall Songs, making melody in your heart to the Lord.* This would even vex the poor soul of me, who have been your minstrel this day to pipe to you this dance of rejoycing. If ye either fear God, or honour the King, let not your rejoycing in this mercy be soiled with the least durt of drunkenness or intemperance. I beseech you have a care to stop the mouths of *Seſtaries* and *Schiſmaticks* (none of our Kings best friends) who begin to mutter among themselves and to others, that the King hath many drinking friends, but few praying friends, or God-praying friends. For the love of God, for the love of our King, for the love of our Countrey, for the love of your own souls, & for the honour of our Religion, wipe away this blemish. O consider sadly, what was objected so lately, and God knows how truly, that the disorderly rudeness, profane oaths, drunkenness, and scandalous debauchedness of many of those who were imbarqued in the same bottome with his late *Majesty* of blessed memory, it was that they say, that shipwrackt the vessel and sunk the Pilot. It was sure for our sins, not for his own, that he was so smitten. Now seeing it hath pleased our Gracious God to

*Siccinæ expri-  
muntur publicum  
gaudium, per  
publicum, dede-  
cunt: Hæcine so-  
lemnes dies de-  
cent, quæ alios  
non decet?*  
Tertul. in apo-  
logiz.  
Ephes.  
5. 18, 19.

send us another Pilon, preserved wonderfully both in body and soul from the malice of men and devils, and restored to us by such a providence of mercy, as we could never have hoped for or dreamed of; who hath been preserved so, as if God had hid him secretly in his Tabernacle, and brooded him under his own wings: and is brought home to us as if he had been carryed upon the wings of some Angels of peace and joy: now God hath given us him the desire of our souls, the delight of our eyes, the joy of our hearts, and the crown of our rejoicing, God forbid, that ever our sins, especially the sins of his friends who heartily love and rejoyce in him, should ever hazard him to any new tossings, or grieve his heart, or occasion the least word (though never so unjustly) to be lisped to his dishonour. God forbid that our disorders should chill the spirits of Loyalty in any heart, or cause such frowns of heaven ever to cloud this *Nation* again, as we have lately been under. But whilst I am carryed with a cautious zeal, to prevent and quench all sinfull rejoicing, I have almost forgot my direct aim to blow up and kindle the flames of religious rejoicing, and now I must not say much because the Coverseul hour is come and past a good while. In a word therefore and that of the Apostles, *Rejoice in the Lord alwayes brethren, and again I say, Rejoice.*

Phil. 4. 4.

Rejoyce, but let it be in the Lord, and so rejoyce, not only at this present time, or once, but again, and again, not only with a short blaze, but alwayes. For this mercy I hope will afford fewel for your rejoicing to make it a daily and constant rejoicing, fewel

fewell renewed like the oyl in the cruse, and the meal in the barrel. Let your hearts rejoyce in this mercy of God, and all that is within you bleſs his name for it. Let your tongues utter your joy, and ſing forth the praiſes of God with thankſgiving; Grave it upon the palms of your hands, that when ye ſhall liſt up your hands in the Sanctuary, God may ſee it engraven there, as a mercy which ye will never forget. Praise God for it in the cloſet of your hearts with inward ejaculations. Praise him at the door of your Tabernacles, let your tongues there bring forth and ſet forth the abundance which is in your hearts. Praise him upon the houſe top, proclaim his praiſes in *Zion*, ſo as they may eccho to all the *Nations* round about, and that it may be ſaid amongſt them, *The Lord hath done great things for England wherein ſhe rejoyceſh.* Let your hearts praise him, let your lips praise him, let your lives praise him. Praiſed be thou, O great and gracious God, for ever and ever. *Bleſſing honour, glory, and power be unto him, that ſitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever, Amen.*

Revel 5. 13.

I think it very fit to cloſe the work of this day with a Psalm or Hymn of praise, yet am I not ambitious to be the author or compoſer of it, as ſome of our ſingular new-fangled teachers affect, that they may be reckoned as *Aſaphs* in their Congregations. Holy *David* that ſweet ſinger of *Israel* hath furniſhed the Church of Chriſt ſufficiently for all purpoſes, and I ſhall only commend to you the 75 Psalm to be ſung with grace in your hearts to the Lord.

M 2

Pſal.

Psal. 75.

*Unto thee (God) will we give thanks,  
We will give thanks to thee &c.*

*The Thanksgiving aftr the Psalm.*

**W**E E praise thee O God, we acknowledge thee to be the Lord. All the earth doth worship thee. Heaven and earth are full of the Majestie of thy glory. Thou fillest the Heavens with thy glory, the earth with thy goodnesse. Let heaven and earth be filled with thy prayes. Glory be to thee in the highest, on earth peace, good will towards men. Let the hearts and tongues of these three Nations be filled with thy praises, yea let all the Nations round about say, The Lord hath done great things for them. Praise the Lord, Kings of the earth, and all people. Princes and all Judges, young men and maidens, old men and children, praise ye the name of the Lord. Let high and low, rich and poor, let all degrees of men, from him that sits upon the throne unto him that grinds at the mill, praise the name of the Lord. For his name alone is excellent, his Glory is above the earth and heaven. Let the King praise the name of the Lord, for it is he that giveth salvation to Kings, that delivered *Charles* his Servant from the hurtfull sword. Let him praise the name of the Lord, who hath preserved him wonderfully from the inquisition of bloody hunters, who  
hunted



haunted him to destroy his body, and from the charms and baits of subtile Charmers and Mounrebanks that sought to bewitch and poyson his soul. Let him praise the name of the Lord who hath brought him back again, as a man in whom he took delight and pleasure to set upon his fathers throne in peace, and hath made him to arise to this *Nation* as a Sunne with healing in his wings, and to appear as an Angel of peace. Let the Nobles of our Land praise the Name of the Lord, who hath brought them up again from under a bushell to be set upon a Candlestick, and shine with their antient lustre and honour, and hath made them to become again as pillars of fire, who had been deprest to be scarce pillars of a cloud. Let the commons praise the name of the Lord, who hath raised them up again to become a free and full Assembly, and hath filled them with a Spirit of wisdome and unanimity, and hath set them above the awe of all military insolency, above the regard of all popular tumults, and hath entrusted them with so blessed an opportunity of making themselves and this Nation (through the blessing of God upon their counsailes) an united and happy people. Let the Servants of the Lord who minister in his holy things, who have been bespattered with all filthy revilings, and have entred into his Courts cloathed with sack-cloth, mourning to see the desolation, yea and abominations sometimes to stand in the holy place, let them lift up their souls to praise the name of the Lord with all their might, let the high prayses of God  
be

be in their mouths, who hath in his compassion to his poor unworthy servants said, Take away these filthy Garments from my *Joshuahs*, who hath preserved the lives of his Servants that were reckoned as Sheep for the Slaughter, from the malicious aims of their violent and cruel enemies, and their portion for becoming a prey to the foxes. Let the great City praise the name of the Lord, who hath preserved her children from sitting in ashes, who hath lifted her up from pining sorrow to triumphing joy, and hath strengthened again the bars of her gates, that no violent enemy (we hope) shall ever break them in sunder. Let those *who go down to the Sea, and do their businesse in great waters*, let them praise the name of the Lord, who hath smoothed their path over those rough billows to pass with lesse hazard and more comfort, and hath opened a door of commerce to them with more safety and honour. Let the Country-man praise the name of the Lord, who hath granted him *to sit under his own vine and his own fig-tree* in peace, and to call it his own with more confidence, whose hopes to be eased of his heavy oppression and burthens, are already a present ease to his spirit. Let all those who love the honour of the great God of heaven, and delight to see him worshipped in the beauty of holinesse, praise the name of the Lord: let all those who love the Lord Jesus Christ, and rejoyce to see his honour rescued from the grosse misapprehensions and defamations of Hereticks, and from the bold blasphemies of Atheists, praise the

name of the Lord, who hath restored to us a Noble Defender of the antient, Catholick and Apostolick faith once delivered to the Saints: let all those that love the peace and prosperity, and flourishing welfare of the Church of Christ in this Nation, praise the name of the Lord, who hath preserved and given her another *Constantine*, and hath again raised up her hopes, that *Kings shall be her nursing Fathers, and Queens her nursing Mothers*: let all those who delight in order, peace and unity, who prayed that all things in the Church may be *done decently and in order*, praise the name of the Lord, who hath layed a foundation for a real reformation, for the restoring of blessed unity, holy order, and the primitive Government in the Church, and hath raised up a deliverer to restrain those who *break down the carved works in Gods House with Axes And hammers*. Let those who have groaned under the burthen of reproaches and oppressions, of distresses and persecutions, who have *had tryall of their cruell mockings, who have taken joyfully the spoyling of their goods*; let them praise, and again praise the name of the Lord, who hath raised up a deliverer for them, a deliverer who holds forth his arm to gather them, and crieth to them, *Come unto me and I will ease you*. Let all those that desire to sail through the Sea of their mortality in the calm of tranquillity and peace, that love the sweetness of living under settled and just laws, and under such a Prince as keeps them himself, and compelleth others to keep them, let them praise the name of the Lord, who hath given them their desires, or at least

least full hopes of them into their bosomes: Let those who delight to pay their debts to the true owners, their obedience to the just claimers, honour to whom honour, tribute to whom tribute is due, let them praise the name of the Lord, who hath freed us from the heavy yoke of Usurpers, to whom the paying of tribute was ten times heavier then the tribute it self. Let all those who rejoyce to have their innocence shielded from arbitrary violence and injustice, their English liberty from Turkish slavery, their lives from pretended High courts of Justice, their consciences from hellish chains, praise the name of the Lord. Let every one whose heart cleaveth firmly to the Protestant Religion, every one that breatheth with a true English spirit, say, The Lords name be praised for ever. Praise thou the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless his holy name. *Amen, Amen.*

*Soli Deo gloria in secula seculorum.*



**THE END.**

